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VOLUME LXIII

1943

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MEETINGS

OF THE SESSION 1942-1943

The Inaugural Meeting of the Session was held on November 3rd, 1942, at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, members of the Oxford Philological Society and of the Oxford branch of the Classical Association being invited to attend. Mr. A. M. Woodward read a paper on 'Greek History at the Renaissance.' The President, Dr. A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, was in the Chair, and the vote of thanks was proposed by Sir John Myres and warmly applauded. Mr. Woodward's paper is published in the current volume of the *Journal*.

The Second General Meeting was held on February 2nd, 1943, at Burlington House, the President occupying the Chair. Professor P. Maas read a paper on 'A Magical Papyrus on the Healing of Diseases (20 Preisendanz) and some related Texts.' A vote of thanks was afterwards proposed by Sir Frederic Kenyon and seconded by Dr. H. I. Bell amid hearty applause. This paper was published in *J.H.S.* vol. 62.

The Third General Meeting, to which members of the Cambridge University Classical Society and the Cambridge Antiquarian Society were invited, was held on May 4th, 1943, at the Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge, with the President in the Chair. Dr. F. J. Tritsch read a paper, illustrated by lantern slides, on 'The Harpy Tomb at Xanthos.' After some felicitous comments by Prof. A. B. Cook, a vote of thanks was proposed by Sir John Forsdyke, and

enthusiastically applauded. Dr. Tritsch's paper was published in vol. 62 of the *Journal*.

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held at Burlington House on June 22nd, with the President in the Chair. Before Dr. H. I. Bell moved the adoption of the Annual Report and the Accounts, the Honorary Treasurer spoke on the subject of the Society's membership, which, after declining for a number of years, had this year remained at the level of 1942, that is, at 1,320, if Honorary members were included. Mr. Thompson said that the membership figure must soon become stabilized, and he hoped for a total of 1500 at the end of the war. The re-election of the Vice-Presidents and the election of ten new members of Council, as detailed in the Annual Report, was proposed by Mr. A. M. Woodward. The re-election of Mr. C. T. Edge as Auditor was proposed by Mr. John Penoyre, and seconded by Miss A. Woodward.

Dr. Pickard-Cambridge then read his Presidential Address on 'Some Problems of the Greek Theatre.' This was an amplification of his previous paper, a summary of which appeared in vol. 62 of *J.H.S.* It consisted of more detailed evidence, and especially of many fine contemporary illustrations of stage architecture, chosen from Athenian and Italian Vase-paintings, in support of the latest conclusions on the construction of the Greek Theatre. A vote of thanks was proposed by Prof. F. E. Adcock, and heartily applauded.

BALANCE SHEET, DECEMBER 31, 1942.

* The Investments as at December 31st, 1942, had a value of £3357.

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INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT. FROM JANUARY 1, 1942, TO DECEMBER 31, 1942.

[illegible]

I have audited the above Balance Sheet and Income and Expenditure Account and in my opinion the same exhibit a true and correct view of the Society's financial position according to the best of my information and the explanations given to me and as shown by the books of the Society.

LONDON,
May 13, 1943.

CYRIL T. BOGE,
Chartered Accountant.

DR.	'JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES' ACCOUNT.	FROM JANUARY 1, 1942, TO DECEMBER 31, 1942.		CR.
		£	s. d.	
	To Printing, Paper, and Plates, Vol. LXI	393	19 7	
	" Drawing and Engraving	20	15 1	
	" Preparation of Index	25	0 0	
	" Editing and Reviews	19	13 0	
	" Postage on Vol. LXI	77	4 7	
		<u>£530</u>	<u>12 3</u>	
				£ s. d.
				58 11 0
				35 13 2
				94 4 2
				10 5 3
				14 0 0
				418 2 10
				<u>£536 12 3</u>
				£ s. d.
				14 18 6
				<u>£14 18 6</u>
				£ s. d.
				1 16 1
				7 1 8
				<u>£8 17 9</u>
				£ s. d.
				20 0 0
				305 16 8
				224 9 6
				<u>£550 6 2</u>

LANTERN SLIDES AND PHOTOGRAPHS ACCOUNT. FROM JANUARY 1, 1942, TO DECEMBER 31, 1942.	
To Slides for Hire	£ s. d.
" Balance to Income and Expenditure Account ..	3 7 0
	11 11 6
	<u>£14 18 6</u>

LIBRARY ACCOUNT. PURCHASES AND BINDING. FROM JANUARY 1, 1942, TO DECEMBER 31, 1942.	
To Purchases	£ s. d.
	8 17 9
	<u>£8 17 9</u>

LIBRARY PREMISES ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1942.	
Rent	£ s. d.
Rates	402 10 0
Transferred from Balance Sheet—Proportion of Expenditure for Year	124 16 2
	23 0 0
	<u>£550 6 2</u>

GREEK HISTORY AT THE RENAISSANCE

It may be taken for granted that in any branch of learning it is a pleasant, and may be an instructive, task to turn one's back now and then on progress and research, and look backwards along the path which we and our predecessors have trodden, and to reflect on what we owe to those who were the pioneers in the exploration of our subject. And it seems no less true that the study of Greek history is a fit theme for such a backward glance, even if it is difficult, and at times impossible, to isolate it completely from the general background of Greek learning, particularly at the Renaissance.¹

I propose, therefore, to examine the background and the progress of the study of Greek history between 1350 and 1500, not continuously, for the task would be too laborious, but at intervals of fifty years, noting certain landmarks associated with each of these dates, and touching on the main developments in each of these half-centuries.

In the year 1350 there occurred a noteworthy event, fraught with immediate delight to the two participants, and with momentous and quite unforeseen consequences for the future of classical learning, namely, the meeting of Petrarch and Boccaccio in Florence. One of the things that helped to bring them together was their common enthusiasm for Greek, of which Boccaccio had already attained some knowledge; Petrarch, though a few years older, was still hoping, and eagerly striving, to acquire the rudiments of the language.² We may recall, in this connection, the pathetic story of his manuscript of Homer, acquired only in 1354, in which he never got further than learning to read the capital letters; and how, for his knowledge of the poet, he had to be content with a very wooden Latin version from the hand of Leontius Pilatus, a monk from a South Italian monastery, whom Boccaccio had generously established at his own expense as a teacher of Greek in Florence in about 1360. It was not until 1369 that he sent his translation of Homer to Petrarch, whose solitary other Greek manuscript, containing sixteen dialogues of Plato, remained equally a sealed book to the end of his days, for only a Latin version of part of the *Timaeus* brought him into contact with the philosopher's message.³ If Petrarch possessed no manuscript of any Greek historian, no more did anyone else in Italy, to his knowledge, and for many years to come this was almost equally true both as regards Italy and the West in general. Any knowledge of, or interest in, Greek history was derived from Latin sources alone. Perhaps that is too sweeping a statement, for it is possible that the Latin version of the Alexander-legend of the Pseudo-Callisthenes, of which a Greek MS. had been brought to Naples before the year 950,⁴ was not quite unknown in the fourteenth century; and the same might be claimed for the Latin version of Aristotle's *Politics* by William de Moerbeke, on whose interesting career a word or two may be added. Of Flemish origin, he was sent by the Dominican authorities at Louvain to study Greek on Greek soil, primarily for theological purposes, and spent some years there—Greece being under the Frankish Despots at the time—to such profit that he was able to produce, in about 1273, a scholarly version of the *Politics*. This is a landmark in the history of Aristotelian studies, for it seems to reveal that the translator used a MS. of earlier date and better tradition than any complete MS. now

¹ The substance of this paper was read to a meeting of the Hellenic Society, at Oxford, on 3rd November, 1942. At the Editors' request I have treated one or two topics rather more fully than was possible on that occasion, and have added references. Among the works consulted, the three to which I am most indebted are G. Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des Classischen Alterthums*³ (ed. Max Lehnardt, 1893); R. Sabbadini, *Le Scoperte dei Codici Latini e Greci ne' Secoli XIV e XV*, 1905; and J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, 1903, etc. I have also gleaned much from Burckhardt's *Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy* and from Creighton's *History of the Papacy during the Reformation*. Other works consulted, which include a regrettably small number of the original authorities, will be mentioned in

due course, but to save space I refer to the five standard works mentioned above under their authors' names only. J. H. Whitfield's *Petrarch and the Renaissance* (Blackwell, 1943) was not available, to my great regret, until this paper was almost ready for printing.

² Voigt, i. 163 ff.: Petrarch's first letter to Boccaccio, written after they met (*Epist. rerum fam.* xi. 1) is dated 2nd November, 1350; for his description of their meeting, *op. cit.*, xxi. 15. Cf. H. Hauvette, *Boccaccio* (1914), pp. 195 ff.

³ For Petrarch's attempts to learn Greek, Voigt, i. 47 ff.; for those of Boccaccio, i. 169 ff.

⁴ Sandys, i. 415; for fuller details see Pauly-Wissowa, x. 2. s.v. Kallisthenes, col. 1707-8.

surviving; and incidentally raised him to a much higher status in the esteem of Roger Bacon than he had previously enjoyed.⁵

Other channels by which MSS. of the Greek historians, among other writers, might have reached Italy and the West had been opened earlier, by the Normans who captured Thessalonica in 1185, and, still more widely, by the Italians and French who made their way to Constantinople both before, and after, the fourth Crusade. The commercial intercourse of Venice, in particular, with the new capital of the Latin empire of the East needs no illustration, beyond a bare mention of the activities of the brothers Polo, father and uncle of the yet more famous Marco. Nevertheless, as far as I am aware, we have no proof from actual survival that any MS. of a Greek historian came to Italy or the West through these channels in the thirteenth century. The supply was undoubtedly there, in spite of the destructive fires in Constantinople in which many books are known to have perished; it is the demand that remains uncertain.⁶ The supply, needless to say, represents the heritage of an unbroken tradition, and we have abundant evidence, in their surviving works, of the activities of Byzantine scholars in the ninth to twelfth centuries in the field of Greek history as well as in all other branches of Greek learning. For example, in the voluminous *Bibliotheca* of Photius, patriarch and teacher, after the theologians it is the historians who occupy the largest space; and it is due to his voracious reading, and careful recording, that we owe the preservation of countless fragments of historical works among others by Hecataeus, Ctesias, Theopompus and Phlegon of Tralles. The next generation is noteworthy for the active copying of Greek MSS. of the Classics, encouraged above all by Arethas, whose own copy of Plato, dated to 895, was rescued—if that is the word—from Patmos by E. D. Clarke and is now an outstanding ornament of the Bodleian. In the encyclopaedic compilations of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, which deal with History, Agriculture and Medicine, we find clear proof of his acquaintance with Herodotus, and before we leave the tenth century we must also recall the wealth of historical references to be found in Suidas. In Psellus, the chief figure in the Byzantine world of scholarship in the eleventh century, we may welcome a pioneer student in the School of *Litterae Humaniores*, for, though devoting himself primarily to the study of Plato, we find him alluding to the reforms of Cleisthenes as described in the *Athenaion Politeia*. Whilst the nephew and namesake of Psellus's friend Xiphilinus, who epitomised Dio Cassius, deserves a passing mention, though his theme was Rome and not Greece, we must not pass over, even in this brief survey, the untiring labours of Tzetzes, in the twelfth century, whose wide but superficial reading covered most of Greek literature, as is indicated, if not actually proved, by his quoting over 400 authors. He is said to be among the more inaccurate of scholars, but much may be forgiven him for the confession that when poverty compelled him to sell all his books, it was only his Plutarch that he refused to part with.⁷

It would be hard to believe, in any case, that this tradition of learning, and of devotion to Greek history in particular, could be permanently extinguished by the Latin domination of the Byzantine Empire, and in fact the Renaissance was to show convincingly with what vigour it had survived. It was only a question of time and opportunity, when the West should feel the urge to acquire it, and realise what a wealth of material was within their reach, for this priceless heritage of learning to make its way to Italy. And it is assuredly to Petrarch and Boccaccio that we must trace back both the impulse and the demand, for the appointment of Pilatus as the first teacher of Greek in Florence meant the establishing of the tradition of that city as the centre of Greek learning on Italian soil, an honour which it held unchallenged for many years to come, even if the flame almost died out for a time after Boccaccio's death in 1375.⁸

⁵ For this translation see W. L. Newman, *The Politics of Aristotle*, ii. xlv. ff.: cf. Sandys, i. 562 f.; for a summary of the MSS. authority for the *Politics*, F. W. Hall, *Companion to Classical Texts*, p. 210.

⁶ Fires at Constantinople, Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, c. xl. (the 'Nika' riots, cf. iv. 237 and 568 f. of Bury's edition), and c. lx. (fires in 1203-4), *op. cit.* vi. 417; Sandys, i. 415 f.

⁷ For the Byzantine scholars mentioned cf. Sandys, i. 388 f. (Photius); 395 f. (Arethas and Constantine Porphyrogenitus); 399 (Suidas); 401 ff. (Psellus); 408 f. (Tzetzes).

⁸ For the intellectual interests of the *élite* of Florentine society in the last quarter of the fourteenth century cf. Voigt, i. 183 ff.; Greek seems not to have figured among them until the arrival of Chrysoloras in 1396.

Although, then, we must sadly admit that this forerunner of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies in Italy was launched with such a modest list of members, a miraculous change had been wrought in the next fifty years. In 1400 Manuel Chrysoloras was just ending his four active years as a teacher of Greek at Florence, which meant nothing less than the sowing of the seed for the harvest of Greek learning in Italy and the West, a harvest that was not long delayed. The main reason for this change from the conditions of fifty years earlier consists in the fact that the relations between the Italian cities and the Byzantine Empire had become much closer during the latter years of the fourteenth century, and the fame of Chrysoloras as a teacher in Constantinople had attracted more than one eager young scholar to seek hospitality and instruction in the master's household. Foremost among them was Guarino of Verona, who returned to sing his praises with such effect that Chrysoloras was himself sent to Venice as envoy of the Emperor in 1393, and three years later was prevailed upon to settle in Florence as a teacher of Greek.⁹ Several other Italian scholars followed Guarino's example in the next twenty-five years, and the tie was soon to be greatly strengthened by the ever-growing intercourse between the Papacy and the Orthodox Church. It is not surprising that while the seat of the Papacy was at Avignon such intercourse, even granted the good will, was much less practicable, but, after its return to Rome in 1376, not only greater proximity but ecclesiastical and personal considerations, in spite of the distracting effects of the Great Schism, combined to bring the two great Churches at length into closer touch, culminating in the friendly reunions at the Councils of Ferrara and Florence in 1438 and 1439. At the former, Guarino, now one of the most distinguished of Italian scholars, and one of the two most famous and successful schoolmasters of this era, the other being, of course, Vittorino da Feltre, acted as chief interpreter between the representatives of the two Churches.¹⁰ But in these thirty-eight years since 1400 much had happened to further the progress of Greek studies in Italy; the seed sown by Chrysoloras was already yielding a brilliant harvest in the Greek field, but in Latin literature, too, it was hardly less plentiful, for Greek and Latin MSS. alike came flooding in. I must not digress to recall in detail the discoveries of lost works of Latin authors, partly due to the tireless researches of Poggio during, and just after, the Council of Constance in 1414-18, but they may at least remind us that the pursuit of classical learning, and especially of MSS., took scholars northwards across the Alps as well as eastwards to Greek lands, and that the substantial additions then made to Latin literature coincided with, and for some eyes no doubt eclipsed, the dazzling prospect of the discovery of almost all of the surviving literature of Greece.¹¹

At Florence in particular there was eager competition to share in the fruits of these discoveries: wealthy patrons and collectors, eager young students, and before long a systematically organised copying-bureau for the multiplication of ancient texts, combined to meet the ever-growing demand. There is no need to enlarge here on the Golden Age of Florence under Cosimo de' Medici, or to dwell on his achievements as statesman, benefactor of the Church, and patron of Art and Letters. The many panegyrics composed by his contemporaries and by later writers seem to contain little that we must reject as untrue or grossly exaggerated, and the vividly written memoir of him by Vespasiano da Bisticci is particularly valuable. Among his contemporaries, the man who endears himself most to us is Niccolo de' Niccoli, antiquary and collector, copyist, patron of letters and trusted friend of all his fellow-citizens. 'Nicolao always had his house full of distinguished men, and the leading youths of the city,' says Vespasiano. 'As to the strangers who visited Florence at that time, they all deemed that if they had not visited Nicolao they had not been to Florence at all.' Vespasiano's own career belongs to a slightly later period of the fifteenth century, and his activities, and thoughts,

⁹ Cf. Voigt, i. 222 ff.; Sandys, ii. 19 f.

¹⁰ Cf. Voigt, i. 547-56 (Guarino); 532-44 (Vittorino); in addition to the authorities cited by Voigt for the latter scholar see W. H. Woodward, *Vittorino da Feltre and other*

Humanist Educators (1897); Sandys, ii. 53 ff.; R. C. Jebb in *Cambridge Modern History*, i. 556-8.

¹¹ Voigt, i. 232-61; Sandys, ii. 25 ff. (*passim*).

and the friendships he made in his capacity of the leading bookseller of his time, are revealed throughout his *Memoirs*.¹²

To return, however, to the beginning of the century, and to the effects of the teaching and influence of Chrysoloras. By far the most active of his former pupils who attacked the laborious task of translating the Greek authors into Latin, was Leonardo Bruni of Arezzo, whose first undertaking which concerns our subject was the Public Speeches of Demosthenes. Starting in 1406 he was not long in producing Latin versions of the *De Falsa Legatione*, *De Corona*, two of the *Olynthiacs* and the speech *On the Chersonnese*, not to mention Aeschines *In Ctesiphontem*. In 1414, at latest, he had begun Aristotle's *Ethics*, and though he only completed his version of the *Politics* in 1437, he had in the interval translated six of Plato's Dialogues, including the *Gorgias*, the *Phaedo*, the *Phaedrus* and the *Apology*.¹³ We must not neglect to note in passing the link between his version of the *Politics* and Oxford, for he undertook it at the express request of Humphry Duke of Gloucester, who had openly avowed his admiration for his rendering of the *Ethics*, though he never came to Italy to meet the translator. The autograph copy of the *Politics* duly reached the Duke, to whom it was dedicated, but through some delay in the acknowledgement, which was no doubt expected to take a material form, Bruni transferred the dedication to Pope Eugenius IV with more remunerative results.¹⁴ On the whole, however, the Duke showed himself one of the most active clients of the Florentine book-market, and at least three well-known Italian scholars of the time, notably Pier Candido Decembrio, visited him in England.

Bruni's translation ranks as a landmark in the interpretation of Aristotle to the western world, and though at times it fell short of modern standards of accuracy, it was a masterpiece of Latin prose, which no doubt helped considerably to account for its wide-spread success. That was in fact, as we may have occasion to notice later, the weakness both of Bruni's versions and of those produced by the next generation of scholars. What they were expected by their patrons and their readers alike to achieve, was a masterpiece of polished and effective Latin, whether or no the original lent itself naturally to such treatment. Cicero was the touchstone by which these translations were tested, and against it there was no appeal.¹⁵

While Bruni then was the first, and by no means the least gifted, of the great translators, we shall be able to follow more easily the activities of his successors if we turn now to glance at the means by which the MSS. of the Greek historians found their way to Italy.¹⁶ The story is, I am sure, familiar: how Guarino came back from Constantinople in 1408 with more than fifty MSS.; how Aurispa, not so much a scholar as a dealer, brought a first small consignment in 1417, including a codex of Thucydides which he sold at Pisa to the great Florentine collector Niccoli, and how he owned for a time the famous Codex A of the *Iliad*. On a second journey, not limited to Constantinople, in 1422-23, he acquired no less than 238 MSS., nearly all of the Greek classics, including, this time, the Laurentian MS. of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Apollonius Rhodius, which likewise was secured by Niccoli. There is an entertaining story, given by Voigt,¹⁷ of the objections raised by the Emperor Manuel II to Aurispa taking holy books from the Capital, whereas the wholesale acquisition of pagan authors was a much lesser offence. His eager acquisitiveness won him the reputation of a shark, but at least he took nothing without payment. 'Omnem industriam, omne argentum, vestimenta etiam saepe pro libris dedi' he writes in a letter to the viceroy of his native Sicily; and it was to

¹² For Cosimo, Voigt, i. 292-5; for his life by Vespasiano, see *The Vespasiano Memoirs* (English trans. by W. G. and E. Waters, 1926), 213-34. For Niccolo de' Niccoli, Voigt, i. 295-306; Sabbadini, i. 53-5; for his life by Vespasiano, *op. cit.*, pp. 395-403; the passage quoted is taken from p. 399 f. H. A. L. Fisher, in his *History of Europe*, Bk. II, c. ii, appropriately quotes from the same source the description of Niccolo's personal appearance and mode of life to illustrate the habits of a cultured gentleman of the Florentine Golden Age. For Vespasiano himself, Voigt, i. 399 ff.

¹³ For Leonardo Bruni, Vespasiano, *op. cit.*, pp. 358 ff. (with a photograph of his tomb and effigy, in Santa Croce

at Florence); Voigt, i. 306 ff.; ii. 163 ff. (for his translations); Sandys, ii. 45-7; Sabbadini, i. 51, 74 ff., etc.

¹⁴ Vespasiano (*op. cit.*, p. 367) tells this story, but describes the Englishman as the Duke of Worcester, by a confusion with the famous Earl (John Tiptoft); cf. Sandys, ii. 46².

¹⁵ For Ciceronian Latin as expected of translators, Voigt, i. 222, 507; ii. 416.

¹⁶ Voigt, i. 262 ff.; Sandys, ii. 36-9; Sabbadini, i. 43-50. Sabbadini's *Biografia documentata di G. Aurispa* (1891) I have not been able to consult.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, i. 263 f.

Messina that his theological MSS. went in due course. Among the fruits of his first journey had been a copy of Thucydides; among those of his second were Pindar, Aristophanes, Plato and Xenophon, both complete, Herodotus, nearly all Demosthenes, Diodorus, Plutarch, Strabo, Arrian, Lucian and Athenaeus.¹⁸ Only four years later, Filelfo, who had been secretary to the Venetian Legation in Constantinople for some years, secured there another Homer, another Pindar, as well as Euripides and Theocritus, and, among historians, further copies of Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon.¹⁹ Yet another Herodotus was apparently among the many miscellaneous MSS. gathered not long afterwards by that restless antiquary and insatiable collector Ciriaco of Ancona, whom we also deservedly honour as the father of Greek epigraphy.²⁰

Nevertheless, it would not be strictly correct to give Aurispa without question the credit for bringing the first MSS. of Herodotus and Thucydides to Italy of the West, for there are tantalising references, raising problems which I cannot pretend to solve, to earlier acquaintance with such MSS. Most mysterious of them is the allusion made by Aeneas Sylvius, later Pope Pius II, to seeing a MS. of a Latin translation of Thucydides preserved in London, at St. Paul's, when he visited England in 1435—or so at least it was described to him; but the mystery deepens when he adds that it was some six hundred years old.²¹ This would, it is true, bring it back approximately to the reign of Charles the Bald (840–77), who is known to have been a patron of Greek learning, for a contemporary, Eric of Auxerre, describes Greece as lamenting the loss of those of her sons whom the king's liberality had attracted to Gaul.²² One of them might have brought a Greek MS. of Thucydides with him and translated it at the French Court, if Aeneas Sylvius is correct in his description, which certainly is not lacking in precision. For other, less enigmatic references to MSS. of the historians reaching Italy, we may recall that the Humanist Vergerio had a Thucydides, obtained at Padua from Petro Miani, about 1400; and another, now in the Vatican, had been purchased by the Venetian scholar-collector Francesco Barbaro in 1425.²³ The same scholar quotes from Herodotus also in his work *De Re Uxoribus*, published in the same year, but we cannot be certain whether he owned a copy, though possibly his teacher Guarino, of whom he was a favourite pupil, had acquired one which is not recorded in the list of his MSS. which has come down to us.²⁴ We may also stop to notice here that Plutarch's *Lives* had reached Italy several years before Aurispa brought his copy, for Salutati mentions in a letter that a MS. of the *Lives* had been translated into Modern Greek, thence into Spanish, and thence in turn into Tuscan.²⁵ This must have been well before 1400,

¹⁸ These details are drawn by Voigt, i. 265¹, from the letters of Ambrogio Traversari. General of the Order of Camaldoli. With Traversari himself we need not concern ourselves here, as his interests and his conscience alike confined his study of Greek to the Church Fathers. This did not prevent him from enjoying the close friendship of Niccoli and his circle, as well as of Cosimo de' Medici himself. Cf. *Vespasiano Memoirs*, pp. 208 ff. Voigt, i. 314 ff.; Sandys, ii. 44. His voluminous correspondence was edited by Mehus in 1759.

¹⁹ For MSS. brought by Filelfo, Voigt, i. 265, 348 f.; Sandys, ii. 55; Sabbadini, i. 48, 58 ff.; Vespasiano, whose brief memoir (*op. cit.*, pp. 408–10) does not conceal his dislike for Filelfo's vain and quarrelsome character, says nothing of his bringing MSS. from Constantinople: the evidence for this is to be found in his own letters. We shall meet him again as a translator of the *Cyropaedia*.

²⁰ For Ciriaco's activities, Voigt, i. 269–86; Sandys, ii. 39 f.; Sabbadini, i. 48, 69, etc. A fully documented study of Ciriaco is badly needed, for much has come to light concerning him since the publication of *Cyriaci Anconitani Itinerarium*, ed. Mehus (Florence, 1742). For the Herodotus and other Greek MSS. which he found on his travels, cf. Voigt, i. 279; but it is not quite clear whether he acquired all that he claims to have seen. Funds would not have been lacking for the purpose, as he had the financial backing of Cosimo de' Medici.

²¹ For Aeneas Sylvius's journey to England, see Creighton, ii. 233 ff.: for the enigmatic Thucydides, the letter to John

Hinderbach (4th June, 1451) quoted by Creighton (p. 237), runs as follows: 'Vetus historia in manus venit, ante annos sexcentos, ut signatum erat, conscripta . . . auctor historiae Thucydides Graecus annotatus erat, quem fama celebrem clarum novimus, translatoris nullum nomen inveni.' Cf. also Voigt, ii. 254²; Sandys, ii. 220.

²² Sandys, i. 473; M. R. James, in *Cambridge Medieval History*, iii. c. xx., esp. 524 ff.

²³ For Vergerio's Thucydides, cf. Sabbadini, i. 62, but no contemporary authority is cited. For that of Francesco Barbaro, *op. cit.*, p. 63 f.; it is now in the Vatican Library (*Urb. Gr.* p. 92, f. 3) with a note saying that the owner bought it in 1415. For his *De Re Uxoribus*, written apparently at the age of 18, cf. Sabbadini, i. 63 (note 122); J. H. Whitfield, *Petrarch and the Renaissance*, pp. 145–7, who denies it any title to literary merit. It was first printed, by Ascensius, in 1513.

²⁴ For Guarino's MSS. and their disposal, Sabbadini, i. 44 f.

²⁵ For Salutati's letters see *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati, a cura di Francesco Novati* (*Fonti per la Storia d'Italia*, Rome, 1891–1911, 4 vols.). The reference to the Plutarch manuscript is worth quoting: 'Ceterum scio quod de greco in grecum vulgare et de hoc in aragonicum Plutarchum de historia, xxxviii ducum et virorum illustrium interpretari feceris; habeo quidem rubricarum maximam partem. Cupio, si fieri potest, hunc librum videre; forte quidem transferam in Latinum.' This letter is addressed to Juan Fernandez de Heredia, and dated 'Kal. Feb.'; the

as the Italian version is described as in the hands of one Domenico Bandino of Arezzo, a fourteenth century scholar, whom the researches of Sabbadini have rescued from undeserved oblivion.²⁶

In one way or another, then, MSS. of the Greek historians were accumulating in Italy before the middle of the fifteenth century, and Florence was the unchallenged centre for their study, their safe custody, and the first steps towards their translation. Nevertheless, up to about 1450, apart from the fruitful labours of Bruni, only spasmodic efforts had yet been made to translate the historians, though we must not overlook the contribution of Guarino, and one or two of his pupils, towards a Latin version of Plutarch's *Lives*, which they did not nearly complete.²⁷

If however we compare the general position as regards Greek Studies in 1450 with that obtaining fifty years before, the advance is astounding, as will appear when we consider the circumstances in which an important contribution was made to the study of Greek history in the year 1452, namely, the completion by Lorenzo Valla of his Latin version of Thucydides. This owed its origin directly to the enlightened tastes of Pope Nicolas V, Tommaso Parentucelli, who though not a Florentine by birth had acquired his love of books and learning in that city; and when he succeeded Eugenius IV in 1447 brought with him a determination to make the Vatican a centre of scholarship and the seat of a worthy library.²⁸ His foremost aim was to have the principal Greek prose authors, and first of all the historians, translated into Latin by the most gifted scholars available. Funds, too, were soon available for the undertaking, since the Pope intended to devote primarily to it the immense sums contributed by the faithful for the Papal Jubilee of 1450; but the weakness lay in the fact that the human element fell short of the task as planned. Much of it, as we shall hear, was completed and paid for, but the work was still far from completion when the Pope died, at the age of 58, in 1455, and as none of his immediate successors cared equally for pagan literature, the Papal court ceased to be a patron of classical learning, practically until the accession of the Medici pope Leo X some sixty years later.²⁹

It is tempting, but not altogether easy, to try to picture the historical background of Valla's contribution to the Pope's plan. Above all, we should like to know what was said and thought about the storm-clouds gathering ominously outside the walls of Constantinople, and the danger of the extinction of the Orthodox Church which had lately been meeting its elder sister on such friendly terms on Italian soil. Instead, one gets the impression that the distant menace, which might come alarmingly closer if the great city fell, was obscured by the dust of controversy in the very precincts of the Vatican. In fact, to change the metaphor, the torrents of invective that accompanied the literary disputes of the day were just now pouring in fullest spate. Valla himself was no mean exponent of the art; his more renowned seniors, Poggio and Filelfo, had violently abused each other for many years past, and it is scarcely surprising that the ambitions, and the critical and oratorical gifts of Valla should awaken jealousy in the older men, when he took up his appointment as Papal Secretary in 1447. The strife continued until Poggio left the Curia for Florence in 1453, but, even if it subsided on his departure, they were never reconciled; and when Valla died in 1457, and his rival two years later, they carried their enmity to the grave.³⁰ It may strike us as strange that the Pope made

editor attributes it to 1392, though previous scholars had suggested an earlier year. See Novati, *op. cit.*, ii. 289 ff.; it is numbered Bk. VII. 11 in his edition. He also points out that the original Spanish version is in the Bibliothèque Nationale (*Fond. Espan.* 70-2) and actually contains only thirty-nine *Lives*; and he does not believe that Salutati ever completed a Latin version.

²⁶ Sabbadini, i. 36. 39.

²⁷ Voigt, ii. 177, and note 2.

²⁸ Vespasiano, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-58; Voigt, ii. 53 ff.; Creighton, ii. 334-344, and 521 (for a conspectus of the contemporary sources for his Pontificate).

²⁹ Although there was no active encouragement of translation or other scholarly undertakings, statistics show a

steady increase in the number of Greek MSS. in the Vatican Library, of which a large proportion were naturally theological works. According to Sabbadini's reckoning (i. 57 f.), at the death of Nicolas V it contained 414 Greek codices; Pius II added 40, and before the death of Sixtus IV in 1484 the total had passed 1000. It must be recalled that the MSS. belonging to Nicolas V were his own private collection, and that his idea of creating a *Bibliotheca Vaticana* was only carried out by Sixtus IV, and entrusted to the direction of Bartolomeo Platina in 1475. Cf. W. Wattenbach, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter* (1896), 604.

³⁰ For Poggio's part in this feud, cf. W. Shepherd, *Poggio Bracciolini* (1802), c. xi. esp. pp. 464 ff.; P. Villari, *Life and Times of Machiavelli* (Engl. trans., 1898), pp. 84 ff. For

no effort to reconcile them, for they were both in his service, and we may believe, as Voigt suggests,³¹ that he regarded the quarrel dispassionately as a jousting-match of eloquence and rhetoric, caring little if it brought his Court into disrepute as long as it did not too seriously interrupt Valla's duties as a translator. True that Filelfo, whose blood had now cooled, wrote in vain, in March 1453, to point out the absurdity of their conduct. Bitter as was their quarrel, which I mention only as typical of the atmosphere in which Thucydides was translated, there were certain questions on which even Poggio and Valla could agree: in the field of Latin, they had in common a biting contempt for jurists, Valla attacking the language of the exponents both of Civil and Canon Law for its obscurity and lack of style, not even sparing from his condemnation the sacred name of Justinian, while Poggio, who, unlike Valla, had not even read the *Digest*, ridiculed the whole profession as mercenary quibblers.³² A second topic on which nearly all the Italian scholars of the day were in agreement was their consciousness of superiority to the Greek scholars. True that Chrysoloras, who had died nearly forty years before, had made no enemies, and Joannes Argyropoulos and Bessarion enjoyed universal respect, but the unfortunate George Trapezuntios and a few others of rather lesser note were looked down upon and openly slighted. It must be admitted that their attackers' conduct sometimes passed even the remotest bounds of decency, and when for instance Nicolo Perotti, Bessarion's ardent young protégé, famous later for his *Cornucopia*, an encyclopaedic commentary on Martial, let loose the floods of his invective against Trapezuntios, we instinctively feel no small sympathy for his hapless victim.³³ A third point of agreement which practically united all the Italian scholars was their traditional contempt for all Germans as barbarians; and the fact that these same barbarians were in this very year, 1452, in the city of Mainz, bringing to perfection one of the most revolutionary inventions in the history of mankind, and one that was destined to ensure immortality even for their critics, the Humanists of Italy, was slow to impress itself. And when within about twenty years from this date Germans had successfully introduced their new art of printing into many of the great cities of Italy, the contempt only slowly subsided.³⁴

In this atmosphere Valla's Thucydides was completed in two and a half years, and duly presented in July 1452, to the Pope, who expressed his delight with a generous gift of 500 scudi, accompanied by the command that the next task for the translator was to be Herodotus.³⁵ This he took up with less enthusiasm, partly as he was now preoccupied with the revision of his *Elegantiae*, in which his unquestionable mastery of Latin had been effectively displayed, and partly, we may imagine, from the greater bulk and less rhetorical appeal of his new task. To what extent his feud with Poggio was a further obstacle to steady progress it would be hard to say. The fact remains that the Herodotus was not completed in the Pope's lifetime, and when the attempt to present it to another, no less generous, and perhaps more scholarly patron, King Alfonso of Naples,³⁶ met with an unexpectedly small reward, it finally appeared without a dedication, shortly before the translator's death, in 1457. The King's name had, moreover, already been inscribed, in hopeful anticipation, as patron of the version of the *Cyropaedia* by

Valla, *ibid.*, pp. 95 ff.; Voigt, i. 460 ff.; Whitfield, *op. cit.*, pp. 121-43, who stresses the originality and audacity of Valla's mind.

³¹ Voigt, ii. 152.

³² Voigt, ii. 477-84.

³³ A short sample of Perotti's style may be quoted from his attack on Trapezuntios, after the latter had praised the Turks ('qui Turcas omnibus imperatoribus praestantiores esse voluit'): he called him 'foedissimum ac detestabile monstrum, Turcum, imo Turco turciorem, sceleratiorem, imo Turcorum omnium turcissimum, omnium quae memoravimus turpiorem, et si quid dici tetrius posset'. The full outburst is printed in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, clxi. 762 ff.

³⁴ Voigt, ii. 309 f.

³⁵ The actual copy for presentation to the Pope was transcribed by Joannes Lamperti de Rodenberg, and Valla certifies that he checked its accuracy: 'recognovi cum ipso Joanne, qui eum tam egregie scripsit'. His testimony is

quoted in full by Wattenbach, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter*, p. 339, after L. Vahlen, *Laurentii Vallae Opuscula tria* (SBWien, 1869), p. 64. I do not know how many fifteenth-century copies of this translation are extant, but among those with interesting associations is one in the Earl of Leicester's Library at Holkham, purchased in 1490 by Raphael de Marcatellis, a natural son of Duke Philippe le Bon. (Cf. *A Handlist of the Manuscripts at Holkham*, by Seymour de Ricci (*Suppl. to Bibliographical Society's Transactions*, No. 7, 1932), p. ix and No. 443.) A copy of Valla's Herodotus made for the same owner, *ibid.*, No. 442 (and two others, Nos. 440 and 441). For the earliest printed editions of these two translations, see below.

³⁶ For Alfonso of Aragon, King of Naples, etc., see *Vespasiano Memours*, pp. 59-83; Voigt, i. 457 ff.; Burckhardt, pp. 35, 225-7. I have not been able to consult the *Dicta et Facta Alfonsi* by Antonio Beccadelli (Panormita), of which Burckhardt cites an edition with notes by Aeneas Sylvius (Basle, 1538).

Poggio, a task likewise entrusted to him originally by Nicolas V; and this was followed from his pen, nominally at least, by a version of Diodorus, I–V, in which he had the assistance of George Trapezuntios. Even so, it cannot be claimed as a great contribution to learning, though the fact that he made the first book into two, and gave no indication that it was a translation from the Greek, was only revealed many years later; this tends to confirm what we know from other sources, that MSS. of Diodorus with which it might be compared were difficult to obtain.³⁷

Yet another translation from the Greek, of which the patronage was divided, by force of circumstances, between Nicolas V and Alfonso, was that of Appian, by Pier Candido Decembrio, of which the *Libyan, Syrian, Parthian* and *Mithradatic Wars* were duly dedicated to the Pope, whilst the *Civil Wars*, unfinished at the time of his death, were successfully offered, on completion, to Alfonso.³⁸ I believe that critics find many faults of inaccuracy in this version, but they would seem to be far less flagrant than those in the translation of Polybius by Nicolo Perotti, likewise commissioned by Nicolas V, which, after enjoying a great reputation at first, was destined finally to come under the unsparing eye of Casaubon, who, when preparing his edition of 1609, laid bare all its faults of omission and mistranslation, together with its many errors both in Greek and Roman history.³⁹ Before we part with the translations associated with Nicolas V or Alfonso of Naples, we may perhaps recall the curious story of the Latin version of Arrian's account of Alexander's campaigns. It was from the pen of Pier Paolo Vergerio, another of Chrysoloras' pupils, who, soon after the Council of Constance, entered the service of King Sigismund of Hungary, and dedicated his work to his royal, or (more correctly) imperial, employer. He addresses him as 'Imperator,' and begs for his forgiveness 'si plano ac pene vulgari stilo sensus tantum, non verba transferrem.' Several years after Vergerio's death, Aeneas Sylvius found this MS. at the Hungarian court, almost unknown to Italian scholars, and brought it away, to present it, in 1454, to Alfonso, but the King and his circle found it too crude in style either for the royal taste or for the achievements of Alexander, and handed it over to be polished up by his protégé Bartolomeo Fazio, who with certain Greek scholars as advisers revised it to such effect that the original Arrian was almost completely obscured in the process, but at least it was now elegant Latin.⁴⁰

What are we to think of these Latin versions as a whole? We may at all events discuss them *sine ira et studio*, and must not allow their obvious shortcomings, when tried by modern standards of scholarship, to blind us to their undeniable merits. They omit, they mistranslate, they paraphrase difficult passages to give their own idea of suitable sense, and in general they clothe Greek works in a sometimes quite unsuitable Latin dress. On the other hand we must make full allowance for the difficulties of the task. The MSS. were no doubt sometimes damaged or mutilated, or in some places the text was irremediably corrupt; the translators had more or less to teach themselves the art of Greek palaeography as they went along, and the difficulty of securing a scholar equally at home in Greek and Latin was almost insuperable. Guarino and Filelfo come nearest to this ideal among the Italians, and Joannes Argyropoulos, probably, among the Greeks, though Bessarion, who did little for classical studies in the field of translation, was clearly a most accomplished Latinist.⁴¹ Let us then be grateful that on

³⁷ For Poggio's premature, and at first unsuccessful, attempt to secure Alfonso's approval, and remuneration, for his *Cyropaedia* see Voigt, i. 334 f. Vespasiano, *Memoirs*, p. 354, tells the story briefly; for Poggio's own letters on the subject, cf. Voigt, *ad loc.*, who also mentions the actual presentation-copy preserved in the Ambrosiana Library at Milan.

For the Diodorus I am tempted to quote what Obsopoeus says of it in the preface to his *Editio Princeps* of books xvi–xx published at Basle in 1539. 'Quorum versio meo quidem iudicio Poggio non recte adscribitur. Neque enim verisimile est adeo spurciloquum et virulentum sycophantam et vitiligatorem quicquam Graecitatis calluisse, qui ne Latinam quidem linguam, cuius sibi videbatur esse peritissimus, recte calluit.' Stephanus, in his edition of all the

surviving books of Diodorus (1559), contents himself with calling it 'versio vel potius perversio.'

³⁸ For Decembrio's Appian, Voigt, ii. 186 f.; F. W. Hall, *Companion to Classical Texts*, pp. 203 f., points out that the MS. of the text used by D. belongs to the 'O' group, represented by 'B' (Venice, Marciana 387, saec. xv) and 'V' (Vatican, Gr. 134, saec. xiv–xv). The translation was first printed at Venice, by Wendelin of Speyr in 1472, and again by Ratdolt, (*ibid.*), in 1477.

³⁹ For Casaubon's opinion of Perotti's Polybius, cf. Voigt, ii. 187 f.; Sandys, ii. 71.

⁴⁰ Voigt, i. 432 f.; ii. 176 f.

⁴¹ Vespasiano, *op. cit.*, pp. 137 ff., describes him as 'well versed in Greek and Latin, a lover of letters and of literary men.' As a sample of his mastery of Latin it is instructive to

the whole these translations were not in fact worse, seeing that there was little or no contemporary standard to guide the authors or their critics, and admit that they served a most valuable purpose in bringing Greek history to the notice of many, and to the understanding of a few others, who could not hope to acquire or even to decipher a historical author in the original Greek.

In the half-century which followed the appearance of Valla's Thucydides, vast changes were taking place in the whole setting in which classical studies were pursued. Patronage still existed, but there are many fewer patrons of outstanding enthusiasm or wealth; on the other hand, the rapid growth of printing brought an immense increase in the number of books in circulation and, therefore, in the number of readers. Learning, in fact, became far less dependent on patronage or wealth, and this marks a most important stage in the development of its revival, at any rate in Italy. To turn for a moment to patronage: after the early death of Nicolas V his scholarly successor, Aeneas Sylvius, proved a disappointment to the humanists who hoped that he would continue the tradition, and no pope for nearly sixty years gave any support to scholarship. At Naples, Alfonso died in 1458, to be succeeded by a king of very different tastes—a rather mild description of that degenerate monster his bastard son Ferrante.⁴² At Florence, however, the Medicean dynasty continued to flourish, on the whole in undiminished splendour and generosity, at all events until their temporary expulsion in 1494; and now Venice claims increasing attention as a home and foster-mother of learning. The most convincing proof of this is the evidence of the printing-trade, in which Venice, though not the first city of Italy to welcome the coming of German printers, soon eclipsed all the others in the number of her presses and the wide range of their output.

If, then, we wish to ascertain what books men were reading, or wanting to read, in Italy and elsewhere in the last third of the fifteenth century, it is the study of printing that will supply the answer to our questions. And since the publication of the final instalment of the British Museum *Catalogue of Early Printed Books from Italy*, with Dr. Scholderer's *Introduction*, the answer is now accessible to all.⁴³ But how small a proportion of Italian Incunabula prove to have any bearing on Greek History! Few as they are, there is no need to compile a list, when a selection will serve our purpose.⁴⁴ Valla's translation of Herodotus was first printed at Venice, in 1474, again in Rome the following year, and a third time, at Venice, with a charming woodcut title-page, in 1494. His Thucydides likewise first appeared in print at Treviso, in 1483, and possibly once again (perhaps at Milan, *ca.* 1496), before the end of the century. Poggio's version of the early books of Diodorus was first printed at Bologna in 1472, and three times more, by Venetian presses, in 1476–77, 1481, and 1496. Plutarch's *Lives* were even earlier in the printer's hands, appearing at Rome in 1470, three times at Venice and once at Brescia before the century ended. We may note in passing that an edition of this work printed at Strassburg in 1472 represents almost the only contribution in this field from the other side of the Alps during this century. Xenophon's *Hellenica* was not printed in a Latin version until after the Greek *Editio Princeps* appeared from the press of Aldus in 1503, but Filelfo's translation of the *Cyropaedia* was printed twice at Milan, once with, and once without, some of his shorter works such as the *Agésilas*, *De Venatione* and *Hieron*. Aristotle's *Politics*, of which the Greek text was included in the great Aldine edition of 1495–8, had appeared in Latin, in Leonardo Bruni's version, at Venice in 1483, and almost simultaneously at Cologne and Rome in 1492. With this one exception, in fact, the *Editiones Principes* of the Greek

read his *Contra Turcos Exhortationes*, addressed to the Princes of Italy after the Turkish capture of Chalkis in 1470, to which he appends a fluent and vigorous rendering of the *First Olynthiac* of Demosthenes. The numerous classical and historical allusions in the Exhortation itself include Nestor's attempts to reconcile Agamemnon and Achilles, the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars, Xenophon, Alexander, Pyrrhus, the Sack of Corinth and Plutarch's *Camillus*. His letter to the 'Principes Senatusque Venetiarum' (from Viterbo, 4th May, 1469) conveying the gift of his library to the city

is a dignified and scholarly composition. Cf. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, clxi. 700 l., for the letter, from which Sabbadini i. 67. note 146; quotes an extract.

⁴² For Ferrante, cf. Burckhardt, 36 f., with references to the contemporary authorities.

⁴³ *Catalogue of Books printed in the Fifteenth Century now in the British Museum*, Pt. VII (1935).

⁴⁴ See the list of the *Editiones Principes* of the Greek Historians and of translations of their works into Latin and other languages, in the Appendix, pp. 13–14.

historians in Greek did not see the light until the sixteenth century; and apart from the Latin renderings already mentioned, no work, large or small, bearing exclusively on Greek history appeared in print before 1500, and indeed very little in the following fifty years.

The scanty references that I have been able to trace to original contributions in the field of Greek history written in the fifteenth century likewise amount to very little. The credit of being the first student of the subject in Italy, claimed for Leonardo Bruni on the strength of his *Commentarii de Historia Graeca* (which was never printed), must be qualified by the observation that this work seems to have been merely a free paraphrase of Xenophon's *Hellenica*, apparently without acknowledgement of his obligations to that author.⁴⁵ A more strictly original piece of work, perhaps deliberately continuing that of Bruni, was contributed by Georgios Gemistos Plethon, better known as an enthusiastic upholder and interpreter of Plato in the Plato versus Aristotle controversy which so absorbed the earlier Greek scholars in Italy, namely a brief survey of Greek history from the date at which the *Hellenica* terminates. Its Latin title, when finally printed by Aldus as an appendix to his Xenophon, in 1503, runs as follows: *Georgii Gemisti qui et Plethon dicitur ex Diodori et Plutarchi historiis de iis quae post pugnam ad Mantineam gesta sunt, per capita tractatio*. In spite of its pretentious title, it carries the story down only to the death of Philip of Macedon, in a somewhat brief and colourless outline. The fact that Aldus sponsored it, and Camerarius reprinted it at Basle along with his editions of Herodotus in 1541 and 1557, suggests that in their eyes it usefully filled a gap.⁴⁶ Among more specialised studies, we may mention in passing a treatise by Theodorus Gaza on the Attic months, which was first printed by Aldus in 1495;⁴⁷ and an interesting collection of excerpts accompanied by comments, by Leonicus Thomaeus, a scholar of Dalmatian origin. Better known as philosopher and sage than as historian, he lived from 1456 to 1531, and we have a tribute to his lofty reputation for scholarship and uprightness of character in the words of his friend Bembo, who said that he left to others ambition and desire for riches. His other works included a commentary on Pliny's *Natural History* (printed in 1516) and a volume of *Opuscula* (1525). We know also that his portrait was painted by Giovanni Bellini, and that a witty retort of his is quoted with approval in Castiglione's *Cortegiano*.⁴⁸ His contribution to Greek (and Roman) history, '*De Varia Historia, Libri Tres*,' was not printed until the year of his death (by Froben, at Basle), but in his dedication he describes it as '*juvenilia*.' An additional interest for us is that it is inscribed to Cuthbert Tunstall, the famous Bishop of Durham, who had studied under him at Padua, towards the end of the fifteenth century. It is in truth a work of *Varia Historia*, with extracts, from a wide range of Greek authors, of passages that excited his curiosity, and on which his miscellaneous reading sometimes enables him to shed light. Pausanias and Athenaeus figure prominently, but I need not stop longer over his work, except to mention that he had an intelligent interest in numismatics, as revealed in two of his extracts (Bk. ii. ch. xix and xx), where he tells us that he has been shown and has identified coins of Seleucus and Antinous, the latter a subject of special satisfaction.

Another work which reveals an unexpectedly wide range of interest in Greek as well as Roman history, clearly based on extensive and intelligent reading of the sources, is the treatise of Roberto Valturio, *De Arte Militari*, first printed at Verona in 1472, and well known to bibliographers for its fine woodcut illustrations. Valturio, who resided at, and adorned, the Court

⁴⁵ For Bruni's treatment of the *Hellenica*, cf. Voigt, ii. 172. Whilst such suppression of the name of the author translated, or even of the very fact that the work was a translation, seems to offend against modern standards of literary propriety, it is well to remember, as has been effectively pointed out by Dr. E. Ph. Goldschmidt, that this represents a survival of the medieval conception of authorship. 'The medieval student,' he explains, 'looked on the contents of the books he read as part of that great and total body of knowledge, the *scientia de omni scibili*, which had once been the property of the ancient sages.' See his *Medieval Texts and their first appearance in Print* (Bibliographical Society's Transactions, No. 16, Oxford, 1943), esp. pp. 109 ff. Bruni's

literary career, which extends down to the period when the dedication of one's work to a powerful patron was the prevalent fashion, well illustrates the transition to the typical Renaissance conception of self-expression, individuality and fame earned by literary composition. These, as Goldschmidt emphasises, 'were not medieval ideas at all; they were born in the Renaissance period.'

⁴⁶ Bessarion possessed a copy in the author's own handwriting, now *Bibl. Marciana*, Gk. No. 406. As printed in the Basle Herodotus of 1557 the text fills barely 22 folio pages.

⁴⁷ Voigt, ii. 503: for his career, *ibid.*, pp. 143 ff.

⁴⁸ Cf. *Il Cortegiano*, ed. V. Cian³ (1939), Bk. II, c. lxxi, and the editor's note on Leonico, p. 250.

of Sigismondo Malatesta at Rimini, to whom he dedicates the work, seems to have known of military matters only from books; but his purpose was to present a picture of the theory and practice of war in all its aspects as a necessary part of the military education of his distinguished master. There is plentiful evidence of his familiarity with Plutarch and Livy, and he speaks of Herodotus and Thucydides as one who knows their works, apparently in the original Greek. The treatise is planned on a comprehensive scale, and his attempts at analysis and definition suggest some degree of indebtedness to Aristotle. The exact date of the completion of the treatise is not known, though it must be earlier than the date of Sigismondo's death in 1468, so we cannot precisely state what Greek works might have been accessible to the author in a Latin translation.⁴⁹

This is a meagre harvest, we must admit, and justifies us in concluding that, as Voigt puts it, 'Men came to know a number of Greek authors, but no one undertook to expound the contents of their works, or reveal the continuity of historical development.'⁵⁰ It is all the more strange that this was so, seeing what a strong appeal to the historical imagination Rome and her monuments had made for several generations. We have only to think of the enterprise of Flavius Blondus, who wrote learned and valuable works such as *Roma Triumphans*, produced in 1459, *Italia Illustrata*, and above all *Historiae ab Inclinatione Romani Imperii*, the first Italian attempt to write a history of the Middle Ages, and no unworthy precursor of Gibbon.⁵¹

I fear I have been tempted to linger too long over the fifteenth century, but my sketch would be grievously incomplete if it did not at least touch on the dawn of the sixteenth. Taking 1502 as our next landmark, for the obvious reason that it is the year of the *Editio Princeps* of Thucydides, we may pause a moment to glance at this *annus mirabilis* in the history of printing. In this single year Aldus Manutius produced a total of seventeen works, of which no less than five were *Editiones Principes* of Greek classics—Herodotus, Thucydides, Julius Pollux, *Onomasticon*, and Stephanus, *De Urbibus*, all in folio, and Sophocles, in 8vo.

His Latin texts, not of course first editions, but all fresh to his press, included all Ovid, Lucan, and Statius; Catullus, Tibullus and Propertius in one volume, and Valerius Maximus, to say nothing of Cicero's *Ad Familiares*, and vol. II of his *Corpus* of Christian poets.⁵² We cannot ignore the historical background of this remarkable activity, for Italy had been ravaged from end to end by the French invaders ever since 1494, and by almost continual civil wars partly resulting from the French invasions.⁵³ In 1502 the storms of war were beating on the Apennines, not very far away, for this was the year of Caesar Borgia's third 'Impresa,' which included the capture of Urbino in June, of Camerino in July, and preparations for an attack on Bologna in September.⁵⁴ Venice, however, was not involved in these complicated struggles, of which as yet only faint echoes can have disturbed her tranquil seclusion. Aldus' prefaces to his Herodotus and Thucydides give no hint of such events, but seven years later the war involved Venice as well, and Aldus was compelled to close down his press from 1509-13, as he tells us in the preface to his Pindar printed in the latter year; and in the dedicatory epistle to his Plato, of the same date, addressed to Giovanni de' Medici who was elected Pope as Leo X, early in 1513, he looks forward eagerly to his restoring an era of peace to distracted Italy.⁵⁵

His hopes, as we know, were vain, for only two years later a new French invasion led by Francis I marks the beginning of a fresh period of war and turmoil; and when in 1527 Rome

⁴⁹ Little is known of Valturio's life, and Voigt, i. 378 ff., has not much to add to the briefer account in Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana* (Rome, 1783), vi, Pt. i, 369 ff., where his epitaph is reprinted, showing that he died at the age of seventy-one, having survived Roberto Malatesta, son of his patron Sigismondo. The father died in 1468, the son sixteen years later. Tiraboschi correctly describes him as 'versatissimo nella lettura degli Autori Greci e Latini.' On many grounds one would welcome a full study of his treatise *De Arte Militari*, with its delightful woodcuts of weapons and siege-engines.

⁵⁰ Voigt, ii. 491.

⁵¹ For Flavius Blondus see Voigt, ii. 34 ff., 85 ff., 492 ff.: cf. R. C. Jebb, in *Cambridge Modern History*, i. 347.

⁵² Cf. Renouard, *Annales de l'Imprimerie des Aldes*, i. 49-61.

⁵³ Cf. Creighton, vi. 339-44; *Cambridge Modern History*, i. c. iv. 111 ff.

⁵⁴ W. H. Woodward, *Cesare Borgia* (1913), pp. 232 ff.

⁵⁵ B. Botfield, *Prefaces to the Editiones Principes* (1861), 284 (Pindar), 286 ff. (Plato): for those of the Herodotus and other works first printed in 1502, *op. cit.*, pp. 256 ff.

itself was stormed and sacked, it must have seemed to many, to use Erasmus' words, 'that the fall of Rome was not the fall of the city, but of the world.'⁵⁶

But it was not, fortunately, the end of Classical learning, which had already spread, and taken firm root over much of Western Europe, in which process Erasmus himself played no small part. To what extent this must be attributed to the spread of printing, as compared with the efforts of migratory scholars, is a question which I must forbear even to touch on, but we should at least recall the fact that Erasmus was far from the first of these migrants. When Argyropoulos heard Reuchlin translate Thucydides in his class in 1482, he is said to have remarked, 'Ecce Graecia nostra exilio transvolavit Alpes,' and though this was intended as a compliment, it seems like an inspired prophecy as well.⁵⁷

I must not attempt here even to sketch the progress of the study of Greek history beyond the boundaries of Italy, but should like to try very briefly to assess the value of the Italian contribution to it. As we have seen, it was in Italy that the essential foundations were laid. The MSS. of the historians were sought for, assembled, translated into Latin, and finally printed, though in many cases long years elapsed between the printing of the Latin version and of the Greek original. On the other hand, little, surprisingly little, was built in Italy on these foundations in the way of historical treatises, and it must be admitted that in spite of the heroic efforts of Aldus Manutius, the study of the Greek language itself was steadily declining, especially after the first quarter of the sixteenth century.⁵⁸

Nevertheless there is ample proof of a continued, and probably much wider, interest in the Greek historians, for the extensive publication of Italian translations of their works, especially at Florence and Venice, in the years 1540-60, many of these being more than once reprinted, is a noteworthy development.⁵⁹ That they largely replaced the desire to read the Latin versions, and still more the Greek texts, can hardly be doubted. To what extent they met a demand for use in schools it would be difficult to say, but their very profusion points to a considerable eagerness to study Greek history in this form. Thus, although Greek scholarship had crossed the Alps, Greek history as a part of general culture clearly survived in Italy.

If we seek to discover why so little was produced in Italy to stand on the foundations which had been so eagerly and proudly laid, the reason we must give is, in one word—Italy. The Italy of the past so permeated the revival of learning in that country, that the minds of scholars were dominated by the literature, the history, the monuments and to some extent the law of Rome. Greek was an exciting and attractive addition to learning, but it could not in their eyes rival, far less surpass, Latin as the instrument of culture. Italy was, as I have suggested already, aggressively conscious of her racial superiority, and the supreme test of scholarship was the ability to write and declaim in faultless Latin. Cicero reigned supreme, and no Greek historian or orator, however skilfully translated, could rival him, or add to the armoury of rhetoric which his works provided. Hence came, in fact, a certain disillusionment about the Greek genius.⁶⁰ If one element in our answer is the influence of the past, the other is the conditions of the present. The system of patronage at wealthy courts, such as Florence, Naples or Ferrara, the formation of libraries, and the subsidised translation-bureau of Nicolas V created a demand based much more on wealth than on a general desire for learning. Greek history was to be, in fact, rather an ornament to their culture than an essential part of it. This is to some extent true of the early sixteenth century as well as the fifteenth. We may admire the aptness with which Macchiavelli draws upon Greek history in *Il Principe* and his other writings for illustrations of character and of political development,⁶¹ revealing obvious traces of an intelligent reading of Aristotle's *Politics*, but otherwise much of his Greek history seems to

⁵⁶ For the letter of Erasmus quoted see *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, ed. P. S. Allen, vii. 509 ff. (No. 2059); cf. Sandys, ii. 123. 'Nimirum orbis hoc excidium erat verius quam urbis.'

⁵⁷ Sandys, ii. 63 f.

⁵⁸ Whitfield, *Petrarch and the Renaissance*, p. 104.

⁵⁹ For details see the Appendix.

⁶⁰ 'Despite the heroic efforts of Aldus, the diffusion of Greek recedes from the beginning of the sixteenth century; and in the meantime it was without influence on the course of Italian literature.' Whitfield, *loc. cit.*

⁶¹ Cf. L. A. Burd, in *Cambridge Modern History*, i. c. vi., for the part played by the intellectual heritage of Greece, and still more of Rome, on Macchiavelli's doctrines; esp. 201-8.

consist of familiar extracts from Plutarch or even Florus; and in Castiglione's *Cortegiano* the numerous echoes of Greek history that may be found—if one has the patience to search—give no proof of a systematic study.⁶² Nor is it by any means certain that either of them could read Greek at all.

Our final conclusion must be that Italy laid the foundations, with much indispensable help from the Greek scholars, but built little upon them, for Greek history was to her mostly an ἀγώνισμα εἰς τὸ παράχρημα; it was only when it had crossed the Alps and became a subject for systematic study and untiring research, and in due course became an integral part of the education of most of western Europe, that it was properly appreciated as a κτῆμα εἰς αἶν.

A. M. WOODWARD

APPENDIX

Editiones Principes of the Greek Historians, and of translations of their works into Latin and other languages.

Author.	Language.	Translator.	Printer.
Herodotus	Greek (Ed. Pr.)	—	Venice (Aldus), 1502
	Latin	L. Valla	„ (Rubeus), 1474
	Italian	M. Boiardo	„ (Nicolino di Sabio), 1533
	French	P. Saliat	Paris (Groulleau), 1556
	English	‘B. R.’ (bks. i, ii)	London (Marsh), 1584
	German	Hieron. Boner ¹	Augsburg (Steiner), 1535
Thucydides	Greek (Ed. Pr.)	—	Venice (Aldus), 1502
	Latin	L. Valla	Treviso (Rubeus), 1483
	Italian	Francesco de Soldo Strozzi	Venice (Vaugris), 1545
	French	Cl. de Seyssel (from the Latin)	Paris (Badius), 1527
	English	Thos. Nicolls	London (Wayland), 1550
	German	Hieron. Boner	Augsburg (Steiner), 1533
	Spanish	Diego Gracian	Salamanca (Juan de Canova), 1564
Xenophon:			
<i>Hellenica</i>	Greek (Ed. Pr.)	—	Venice (Aldus), 1503
<i>Opera Omnia</i>	„ „	—	Florence (Giunta), 1516
<i>Hell. and Anabasis</i>	Latin	(?)	Basle (Cratander), 1534
<i>Cyropaedia</i>	„	Fr. Filelfo ²	Rome (A. de Villa), 1474
„	Italian	Jacopo di Poggio	Florence (Giunta), 1521
<i>Hell. and Anabasis</i>	„	L. Domenichi ³	Venice (Giolito), 1547 and 1548
<i>Anabasis</i>	French	Cl. de Seyssel	Paris (Du Pré), 1529
<i>Cyropaedia</i>	„	J. de Vintimille	„ (Groulleau), 1547
<i>Anabasis</i>	English	J. Bingham	London (Haviland), 1623
<i>Cyropaedia</i>	„	Wm. Bercker	„ (Wolfe), 1567
<i>Hell., Anab. and Cyrop.</i>	German	Hieron. Boner	Augsburg (Steiner), 1540
„ „ „	Spanish	Diego Gracian	Salamanca (Juan de Junta), 1552
Aristotle:			
<i>Politics</i>	Greek (Ed. Pr.)	—	Venice (Aldus), 1498
	Latin	Leonardo Bruni	Strassburg (Mentelin), ca. 1469
	Italian	Ant. Bruccioli	Venice (Bruccioli), 1547
	French	Nicolas Oresme	Paris (Verard), 1486
	English	‘J. D.’ from the French of Loys Le Roy ⁴	London (Islip), 1597
	German	(None before the late eighteenth century.)	
	Spanish	D. Carlos, Principe de Uniana	Saragossa (G. Coci), 1509

⁶² Whilst the whole setting of *Il Cortegiano* is full of deliberate adaptations from Cicero, *De Oratore*, there are many touches that reveal an understanding of Greek history and political thought, but no clear proof that Castiglione had read any of the Greek writers referred to in the original.

¹ These versions by Hieronymus Boner are little more than paraphrases, based apparently on the Latin versions.

² Poggio's version of the *Cyropaedia* (cf. p. 7 above) seems never to have been printed.

³ A more correct version of the *Hellenica* was published at Venice (1550) by Fr. de Soldo Strozzi.

⁴ For fuller particulars of this scholarly translation into French (1568), cf. A. Henri Becker, *Loys Le Roy (Ludovicus Regius)*, Paris, 1926, 186–210.

GREEK HISTORY AT THE RENAISSANCE

Author.	Language.	Translator.	Printer.
Diodorus	Greek	(Bks. xvi-xx only)	Basle (Oporinus), 1539
	"	(All surviving books)	Geneva (Stephanus), 1559
	Latin	Poggio (bks. i-v)	Bologna (Azzoguidi), 1472
	"	" and others (complete)	Basle (Henr. Petri), 1559
	Italian	(Anon., bks. i-v)	Florence (Giunta), 1526
	"	Fr. Baldelli (complete)	Venice (Giolito), 1575
	French	Ant. Macault (bks. i-iii)	Paris (Les Angeliers), 1535
	"	Jacques Amyot (bks. 'i-vii')	" (Vascosan), 1554
Plutarch: <i>Lives</i>	English	Henry Cogan	London (?), 1653
	Greek	—	Florence (Giunta), 1517
	Latin	Guarino and others	Rome (Ulric Han), ca. 1470
	Italian	B. Jaconello (26 <i>Lives</i>)	Aquila (Rottweil), 1482
	"	" and Giul. Bordone	Venice (Zoppino), 1525
	French	Jacques Amyot	Paris (Vascosan), 1559
	English	Sir Thos. North	London (Vautroullier and J. Wright), 1579
	German	Hieron. Boner (8 <i>Lives</i>)	Augsburg (Steiner), 1534
	"	" (complete)	Colmar (Grüninger), 1541
	Spanish	Alfonso de Palencia	Seville (J. de Nurenberg and others), 1491

THE AESCHYLEAN UNIVERSE

THE best start in the attempt to understand Aeschylus is Professor F. M. Cornford's clear-sighted explanation of his method. On the stage of Aeschylus, great forces are broadly symbolised, working, according to the Pythagorean scheme, through antagonism to a new harmony. It is also important to see the life-work of any great poet as a single process; Aeschylus solves problems in early plays, and afterwards surpasses them in more complex problems, which find their solutions in their turn. His material is a great range of political, moral, intellectual, and religious conflicts, all active in his own world. By symbolising them on the stage, he found a way from small things such as party quarrels to a sublime comprehension of the work of God and man, interacting together, within the framework of time. This is not so strange as it appears. The grandest and truest achievements of humanity often look like by-products.

I suggest that a poet may, and perhaps always does, first assimilate his world in time, and next create from that world a universe not limited to time and known actuality. A great poet's world is like ours, full of everyday things, but he likes them more, fascinated alike by the good and the evil. What he *makes* is not an everyday affair, but something more eternal. The transition from the poet's world to the poet's universe is like a transition from politics to religion and mysticism.

We have been noticing lately that morals depend on belief. 'Nature' and 'habituation,' as Aristotle would have it, can make us good, but after a time some strong sanction, such as a belief in hell, can be very useful in making us go on being good. When Aeschylus was born the most enlightened classes had not very much of the sanction imposed by such beliefs. Lyric and elegiac poets had been too incisive. Theognis told Zeus that he was surprised at his unevenness in rewarding merit, and Simonides had been forced to conclude that it was quite impossible for a man to be good. The 'lyric' age is full of such independence of thought. The references ought not to be thought surprising, as Bury thought them—as if they would have been appropriate in the sophistic age, but not before. For as in later Europe the Renaissance was in part a revival of medieval movements which had lost force after their beginning, so the Greek sophistic age was in part a revival or later expansion of an older critical tendency. In Ionia people of culture had long been thrown back on themselves, like many in our generation, and pessimism had spread to old Greece in the drift from east to west which Persia was causing then.

Persia caused more than that, and may have contributed to the task of bringing Homer up to date. Here a familiar fact occurs. A poet's mythology is never up to his vision and message, but it serves to carry them. Homer's mythology was not; but it served. The next world poet, Aeschylus, had to do what a successor usually has to do: he had to bring Homer's mythology up to Homer's level of vision and message—not, of course, up to his own; that was unnecessary and impossible, and had to wait for Plato, Vergil and Christ.

Now the critical movement was partly due to a complexity of social causes, lately well examined by Dr. C. M. Bowra, but partly also to the hopeless prematurity of Homer's monotheism, never brought up to the level of Homer's own lines on Zeus, shaking Olympus with his nod, till Pheidias came. There was progress, seen in Hesiod, Solon and Pindar; but it was for Aeschylus to start that hard task again; and Aeschylus knew the difficulties, and could not take any easy way.

It had become hard for educated people to believe in a wise, good, central control of the world. That was partly because they lacked the superstition, which Dr. Inge says that we all need, which would persuade them that they did right to defy reason; and also partly because they regarded their city or party as their world, and cities and parties were always suffering, in the opinion of their members, undeservedly.

Premature monotheism had to contend with several other principles of worship. There was rationalism of various kinds. And there were the cults of groups and units smaller than that widest humanity which monotheism ought to imply as the true religious group. Of these, one was the city religion. The city had grown up in the dark ages, partly from Mycenaean, partly from northern, and partly from eastern prototypes; but of course it was something very new when it came. And Aeschylus was born when the city was at its greatest individuality and strength, as Dr. V. Ehrenberg has just shown.

The city religion cut across any universal religion. You might do the best for Athena and very far from the best for a Pheidian Zeus. The city must, however, for ordinary people, come first. It is not easy to remember always how entirely in a Greek city each depended on all. You probably just had to hope that your city god or goddess was on good terms with the supreme deity, if any. There is no doubt about the fervour with which a local deity might be trusted to 'defend his own.' That is what the god at Delphi is reported to have said that he could do, and to have done, with no uncertain effect. That is what the Athenians before Salamis expected Athena to do. Themistocles brilliantly used this expectation. For, wanting to get ration allowance for the fleet, he had to find an excuse to search the belongings of the richer citizens; and the excuse he chose was to say that someone had stolen the Gorgon of Athena, with which, of course, like Auge at Tegea, she was expected to turn the invading army to flight. So intense was the faith in divine protection, and so hard has it been for later generations to understand it, that it has always till lately seemed a complete mystery why Herodotus should have said that the Athenians did not try to defend Athens seriously, but yet were bitterly disappointed and distressed when it was taken. Of course they thought Athena would defend her own.

Besides the city cults, there were family cults. The family and the clan were religious units. They were obviously exclusive by nature, not comprehensive like monotheism. You might feel that unity in the family cult was better and safer than trust in a remote universal deity. But before Aeschylus was born family cults were already weakening. Peisistratus had directed worship to Athena, and had helped the city to become the religious unit. It seems that a single ruler must always do something of that kind; examples in many ages occur, not least in our own. When the Athenian despots fell, Cleisthenes hit the family hard by his new constitution. Here I am indebted to Mr. D. P. Costello's work on the Athenian clans. These families were not purely aristocratic, as is often thought; they were just any families, all bound together by religion. Cleisthenes instituted artificial associations called *θιασοί*, containing 'kinsmen,' *γεννηταί*, who are the same as 'milk brothers,' *ὁμογάλακτες*, and also 'participants in active rites,' *ὄργεῶνες*, a name which now turns out to mean people who had no place in a natural family cult, and were therefore given a place in an artificial one. Perhaps there is significance in the fact that Isagoras, the opponent of Cleisthenes, belonged to an old family with a notable private cult—the cult of a 'Carian Zeus.'

But in any case the increasing coherence of the city had to weaken family religion, and make people regard the city as their real family. That is how they talked in the fifth century. Pericles went further, and told the Athenians to be *lovers* of Athens, *ἐρασταί*. Jung has even explained how the peculiar erotic tendencies of Greece at the time helped to hold cities together; certainly, when, as Professors D. M. Robinson and E. J. Fluck have explained, more normal tendencies revived, the coherence of the city had mainly gone. Professor J. Arnold Toynbee has indicated the dangers of this emotional coherence, which was often excessive, and ruinous to Greek unity. The city at its height was regarded as a large family, and indeed based on the kinship of all the citizens. But it was often necessary to admit strangers to civic rights, and, even in theory, kinship gradually ceased to count.

What are called mystery religions had a similar effect in dislocating family cults, because they in a sense created a new family of members, who belonged not by birth, but by initiation. The 'families' of initiates were only loosely united, except the Pythagoreans. But that did

not prevent a certain conflict between the mystery religions and the old family cults on the one hand and the monotheism of Zeus on the other.

As usual, rationalism and politics had left something out. There is a religious instinct not concerned with the reason, or even, primarily, with society; a kind of thirst for personal security, personal life, and release from the strain of personal existence. This the mysteries satisfied. The initiate 'entered,' as the word implies, the body of the earth mother again, to be reborn; and nature was to be reborn too, in the natural world. Man and the flowers won a promise of spring.

Here, of course, there was a danger of insufficient rationality, and in this way Orphism gained a bad reputation. Pythagoreanism escaped, because Pythagoras had the genius to satisfy the mind by interest in mathematics and at the same time to quiet the soul by a kind of monastic rule of life in a new kind of city, almost a new kind of family. Both religions, especially Pythagoreanism, as some work which Mr. H. G. Mullens has in preparation proves, affected Aeschylus. So did the Eleusinian mysteries; for Aeschylus was born of a noble family, living at Eleusis, where they were performed, and he was initiated himself. Professor M. Tierney has lately shown the strong effect of Eleusinian cult on the plays.

It is clear that a poet of Aeschylus' stature, born at such a time, must have assimilated a great number of conflicting world views and must have filled his mind with the most various thoughts. A poet intensely accepts all that he sees and hears if it has imaginative value, readily suspending both assent and dissent on the rational and critical level. The imaginative realities then find symbols in the poet's mind, and work themselves out in fierce antagonism. It is possible that the conflict in the poet's mind reflects the conflict in the world; that the solutions which the symbols of the poet find are the solutions to which the realities in the world will or should come; and that the work of Aeschylus reflects within a span of twenty or thirty years the progress of all world history.

Much of it, however, was being fought out in the actual world during the life of Aeschylus. In the *Persae* he directly presents some of this history, with, however, plenty of inner meaning made clear as well. After the *Persae* there is more, this time presented less directly, and more artistically, perhaps. Old things pass, but revive again. Between the rational, sceptical ages of the sixth and fifth centuries there was a reaction. The Attic art shows it. From about 510 or a little later there is a new serious turn. Perhaps it is the new sense of responsibility in the democracy of Cleisthenes, after the more frivolous and less public-spirited society of the Peisistratids had begun to pass. Athens became more Dorian and less Ionian in feeling. From 480 to 460 B.C. the movement is intensified, and the art takes on a moral grandeur which makes it almost different in kind from all other art in the world. It is an art which justifies the past, and with contentment morally explains the future, by focalising both in a present, in which all questions are answered because man is shown as all that he might ever be. The Delphi charioteer is like that; still more the Artemesium Zeus; most of all, perhaps, the Olympia pediments, where the group of Pelops and his charioteer, with resolved faces, insist that the future shall be won by their own desperate guilt, and Apollo, towering and pointing above turmoil, asserts the law of light. These works share the world of Aeschylus exactly; the moral sequence and connexion in time are his own.

After Salamis, Aristotle says that the Areopagites gained a revival of influence. If that means that the steadier and more traditional influences in Athens revived in strength, it is credible enough. Limited democracy, working well, instinctively chose conservatism for reconstruction on tradition. Steadier opinion had been justified by victory; perhaps it was almost necessary to trust the judgment of old, wise and educated men simply because the records had been destroyed, as Sir John Myres suggests. At any rate, Cimon, a conservative and an aristocrat, for some time directed policy, and was followed.

Aeschylus could have seen the two threads of social history twining before his eyes—the rational and progressive, and the instinctive and conservative tendency. The one is of the head, of the male, and of the individual; the other of the heart, of the female, and of the

group. There *are* these two principles. Psychologists talk of them. Jung equates them with the Chinese principles, *yang* and *yin*. Aeschylus might in some moods have called them Apollo and the Erinyes. By whatever names, they are active in politics, and active in plays.

If you look for the main levels or modes of the antagonisms which are strong in Aeschylus, you might say they are the political, the moral and the religious—in that order. Aeschylus was captivated by the problem of democracy, and, in consequence of that, the problem of right, and finally the problem of God; he seems somehow to subordinate other problems—the problems of love, of beauty, and of Heaven. Anyway, the religious sense usually seems to use political or social forms. We normally have to think of God as a king, a parent, or a lover. The political and social forms are right symbols for religious feeling. Still more, moral things are always seen active in the framework of life, not in abstraction.

For Aeschylus the problem is clear, and in a progressive development universal. It is the problem of all tragic poetry, the riddle of the universe, to be solved by the experimental method of tragedy; as if the poets said, let us imagine great existences in conflict, and see what happens, and find out whether life or death really wins. Now, there are two ways. One is the method of Sophocles, except in the *Oedipus Coloneus*, and of Shakespeare, except in his Final Plays and *Antony and Cleopatra*—the method of showing the conflict and the apparent destruction of goodness, and leaving it to the poetry itself to convince us that somehow all is well. Aristotle, in his profound and simple way, says this of Sophocles—that he talks of grave things in words planned to be attractive. Dr. I. A. Richards thinks this method the right one, and that tragedy positively ought not to rely on extraneous help from religion, but should depend wholly on poetic means. The other method does rely on religion, if you can call it that. It is the method of Aeschylus, whom Aristotle almost overlooked and probably misunderstood; of Sophocles in the *Oedipus Coloneus*; and of Shakespeare in *Antony and Cleopatra* and the Final Plays, as Professor G. Wilson Knight has observed. In this method there is a revelation at the end. The original, primeval theophany survives. Prometheus is released; Oedipus finds a peace that is a splendour; and Hermione comes back to life before our eyes.

Aeschylus, unlike many other tragic poets, begins with a world in pieces and puts it together or lets it put itself together. The form of the universal question which he uses is, How is justice possible? The answer is like a combination of the mystical humanism of the New Testament and Holism; perhaps like Professor A. N. Whitehead's principle of the instability of evil. Conflicts are shown to be creative, and God, man and destiny find each a rightful place.

But it all starts from observation of political forces. We do not know, but we can guess, that during the early years of Aeschylus talk about democracy must have been everywhere. Aeschylus works out the theory of it in the plays. It is an obsession in the *Suppliants*. The daughters of Danaus escaping from Egypt and from marriage with the sons of Aegyptus take refuge in Argos and confront the king with an issue which torments him. Either he can refuse, and save his people from war, but risk the anger of Zeus, who will protect the suppliants, and who is more than the city; or he can regard Zeus, and choose the risk of war. There is much argument, and much doubt in the mind of the king. The Danaids tell him that he *is* the city and controls the city's sacred altar and hearth. So he must repudiate the guilt of refusal and its curse. But the king knows where his power ends; and the argument has to be used, that he must not displease Zeus; who alone can check some possible ills, and is stronger than Hera. The king decides to depend on a vote of the people; whatever he and they together decide is right; the decision is to help the suppliants. When the Egyptian herald comes he insists that he has no fear of the local gods, for he owes no life to them; nor does he seem to recognise any supreme god who protects all suppliants. Political thoughts are everywhere; the herald even tells the Danaids that they will have no lack of civil authority, so describing the control by the fifty husbands which awaits them, οὐκ ἐρεῖς ἀναρχίαν. Later the king finds time to say that a valid enactment need not be in writing.

To the end of his life Aeschylus retained this direction of thought. The *Prometheus* is

full of it; only in connexion with theories of tyranny rather than of constitutional government, for Aeschylus had come to see how precarious constitutional government is.

Even in the trilogy to which the *Supplikes* belongs constitutional government does not prevent suffering in the end. But it works well at first, with a solution near the level of common sense; and in the end the suffering is a cause of all the later greatness of Argos.

It was clear enough, however, that too much depended on chance. It is just the practical policy of Pascal—the just must be strong and the strong just. Only Aeschylus—as often, writing Plato before the time—explains quite profoundly the kind of co-operation on which justice in the city depends. What happens if some strong external force threatens justice within the city? The *Persae* gives *one* answer. Justice still prevails; the strong external force turns out to be splendid to see, but rotten in its inner reality; and, by a bold but characteristically Aeschylean humour, the Persians are displayed as comically weak at the end.

The *Septem contra Thebas* analyses more deeply the relationships on which a city's internal justice and external security depend. Here there is a sharp antagonism between trusting in God and keeping your powder dry. It is not true to say that *either* Eteocles *or* the Chorus is right. Both are partly wrong; Eteocles shows by his terrible death what may be quite a natural end of too rational a concentration on practical affairs. But something else very progressive emerges. The prosperity of the city depends on two things. The first is a right relation between the citizens, the ruler and the gods. The second is the victory of the city's gods over the gods of the enemy—that is, the city must worship the higher, righter gods, not gods who are lower, cruder or less creative of good. For that is what the gods of the attackers are, as they are shown on the shields; and indeed there is a further, interlaced antagonism, between the low, irrational, magic with which the attackers seek to prevail, and the high rational courage which, in this play, just goes too far.

The issue is this. How much should *yin* be allowed to interfere with *yang*—how much should be entrusted to *head* and the future, and how much to *heart* and the past? And is there blind tradition that is good, and other blind tradition that is bad?

The *Oresteia* defies talk. Here are included far more than the city and its gods, and the transition from politics to religion and mysticism is rapidly being made. All sorts of antagonisms are involved, not only those most immediately relevant—the contrast between the lives of man and woman, perhaps between 'patriarchy' and 'matriarchy,' between the love of father and mother, and between the honour of the past and the hard need of the present. Politics come in, but are weakening. When Clytaemnestra, after Agamemnon is dead, declares despotic rule, the chorus has still some memory and hope of constitutional government and justice. But we are nearer to ultimate forces now.

One grand issue lies between the sanction of the family and the god of all the world; another between the power of earth, the older law, and the advancing power of light, Apollo, who must yet not advance too fast—powers that have both in succession possessed the Delphic shrine—the shrine which now belongs to Apollo, and, when the issue of Orestes' guilt cannot be decided there, can only send him to the highest court, the court of Athena, at Athens. Here the issue is brought right out; Orestes, wavering between life and death, is saved by the casting vote of Athena, who is 'all for the Father.'

Orestes is saved narrowly, for the opposites are mighty. On one side are the powers of tradition and unreasoned, impulsive habit, the Erinyes; on the other, the power of thought and reason and light and the love of exact precision, Apollo. Crushed between is man; and the appeal is to something in time, which is human life, the life of Athens, Athena.

Meanwhile, there is the conflict between the city and the power beyond the city, the power of all the world. What is the Athena who is all for the Father? One thing that she is is quite clear—a civic life, directly worshipping its own harmony and self-preservation in the goodness of the city; but indirectly a power of all the universe, a power for transcendental right. You worship Athena; but she worships Zeus. *Not* 'my country, right or wrong.' It is like our need for both God the Father, and Christ.

That is all far too simple for Aeschylus. But his truth lies within those patterns of thought. He knew Apollo, beautiful to behold, but bitter to follow; and he knew, too, the ancient powers, and he knew Athena, who is the city where men are good and the moral law that combines them is a law that reaches beyond the city, beyond mankind.

That is the marriage of Heaven and Hell. Now, finally, comes a marriage of Heaven and Earth. The question had to arise, whether after all good is not precarious in all the wide universe; whether wrong, even there, may not have the last say. So Prometheus is crucified, for his gift of culture to man. Does Zeus like our own self-help? That reminds you of the *Supplices*. May we save ourselves? Can we, without angering the power of the Universe?

The *Prometheia* is the last trilogy of Aeschylus. Its date has been doubted; but it could almost have been predicted, from the previous Aeschylean progress. Further, metrical examination by Mr. E. Harrison, and similar work, and also the investigation of the particles, by Mr. J. D. Denniston, confirm my own different method against Professor Wilhelm Schmid and others; the latest commentator, Dr. E. Rapisarda, confirms us once more; and so does Mr. H. G. Mullens, by his examination of the stage arrangements. In the *Prometheia* Aeschylus remembers the old question of the mystery cults; for, as Mr. H. G. Mullens explains to me, not only was Prometheus at first an initiation deity, but the *Prometheus Vincetus* itself affirms the interest in Pythagoreanism which Aeschylus felt, and obeyed. Aeschylus is almost asking, are the mystery cults right? But he is also asking, is justice any good, if it depends on a power that may be a capricious tyrant, in gigantic icy spaces behind our world?

This raises the question, first asked by Dr. L. R. Farnell, how any Greek could contemplate a supremely evil, Satanic ruler of the universe. The answer is that it must be so. Aeschylus, going from politics to religion in the experimental, tragic way, had to face the risk. So he made Zeus a tyrant, of the well-known literary quality, like the unjust man in Plato, to whom no shred of justice is left.

The result we know. Both Prometheus and Zeus in some sense yield; time, as in the *Oresteia*, plays a part, in Heaven, as before in earth; and Heracles, human good sprung from divine evil, after generations have passed, destroyed by his straight shooting the evil which tore Prometheus; and released him. It is in the living of life that God comes to himself and to his own.

‘Roaming in thought over the Universe, I saw the little that is Good steadily hastening towards immortality
And the vast all that is call’d Evil I saw hastening to merge itself and become lost and dead’—

so Aeschylus says with Walt Whitman, but far more fully.

That is how the embattled forces of the world of Aeschylus, and of his own mind, worked themselves out on his page, and gave their oracle.

The answer is not out of date. It exactly fits the psychology of to-day. Both the Erinyes, as I hope to show more fully later, and the laws of Zeus are of the dream-world. The laws of Zeus are primordial images, which Prometheus defies by his attack on the old, tribal regularity and content; and, to some degree, the old, tribal, communal sanction acts against him. The individual, the rebel, the Miltonic Satan is half right, but half wrong; only by living, by *time*, by human association and its mystic unity can God himself as he is to us—for that is the God of thought, however changeless God in himself may be—and the genius of man, become themselves. This assurance of development in time, this evolutionary view, made an answer for the spirit, may not, as has been said, be Greek; it certainly and incontestably is Aeschylean.

Pindar accepted, and loved, the concrete life of sunshine harmony, which he saw and helped to make. Pindar was of Olympia. But there were two places in Greece, said Pausanias, blessed by Heaven beyond all others—Olympia and Eleusis. And Aeschylus was of Eleusis. We must have both.

W. F. J. KNIGHT

University College of the South-West of England, Exeter.

THE GROWTH OF ATHENIAN IMPERIALISM

By 446/5 the Delian League had become the Athenian empire. Peace had been made with Persia, but Athens had firmly retained her hold over the allies. More important, Sparta recognised the Athenian claim in the Thirty Years' Peace. 'We will allow the cities their independence,' Pericles could say on the eve of the Peloponnesian War, 'if they were independent when we made peace.'¹ So much is clear, but the chronology and nature of the development of Athenian imperialism are both uncertain. We are coming to know or reasonably to guess considerably more of the decisive transition to empire following the Peace of Callias,² but the imperial measures of those crowded years can only be appreciated in true perspective if we have a right understanding of the preceding period. The main purpose of this study is to re-examine the development of Athenian imperialism in the fifties.

In his concise summary of Athens' rise to power, Thucydides emphasises the significance of the reduction of Naxos³: to contemporaries Athenian action may have seemed less questionable. The Persian danger was still serious, and history had shown that the largest of the Cyclades might be a menace to the Greek cause, if it got into the wrong hands. Certainly the League was still popular after the collapse of Naxos, as Cimon's Eurymedon campaign clearly shows. From Caria to Pamphylia the Greek cities welcomed freedom from Persia and gladly entered the League: only at Phaselis was the show of pressure needed.

It is difficult, however, to interpret the reduction of Thasos except as Athenian aggression. Thucydides assigns an economic background to the quarrel, and it seems that it had nothing to do with Medism. The allies, it is true, were to share in the contemplated colony on the Strymon, but it was the purely Athenian interest in the gold-mining of Skapte Hyle and the trading stations of Thasos on the mainland that led to the revolt.⁴ It is significant that Sparta offered to support Thasos by invading Attica. By 465 then the spirit of League leadership seems to be changing, and this change we may perhaps connect with the rise of the radicals in Athens. Ephialtes had probably already been elected general: Pericles brought Cimon to trial on his return from the Thasian campaign.

It was with the eclipse of Cimon, however, that the most vital phase of the transformation of the League began; for during the fifties three new forces were at work. The reforms of 462 had introduced a radical democracy, self-conscious and, with its early successes against the Peloponnesians, increasingly self-confident. The revolution at Athens, bound up with the spectacular dismissal of Cimon's force from Ithome, must have made a deep impression in the Aegean world, and provided stimulus where stimulus was needed to political faction. Hitherto, in spite of occasional friction, Athens had lived on terms with Sparta and the Peloponnesian oligarchies: the new democracy may well have alarmed the oligarchic parties in the allied states.

¹ Thuc., I, 144, 2.

² Meritt, in *The Greek Political Experience, Studies in Honor of William Kelly Prentice* (Princeton University Press, 1941), pp. 52-6.

³ Thuc., I, 98, 4.

⁴ This is a vexed question. Herodotus (VI, 46), describing the wealth of Thasos, says, ἡ δὲ πρόσδοδος σφί ἐγίνετο ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μετάλλων. ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐκ Σκαπτῆς ὕλης τῶν χρυσέων μετάλλων τὸ ἐπιπλέον ὀγδώκοντα τάλαντα προσήη, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ Θάσῳ. . . . At the beginning of the fifth century Thasos controlled a gold-mining area on the mainland at Skapte Hyle. Thucydides (I, 100, 2) says the quarrel with Athens arose περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀντιπερας Θράκης ἐμπορίων καὶ τοῦ μετάλλου ἃ ἐνέμοντο, presumably Skapte Hyle. The colonists sent to Ennea Hodoi were annihilated before the reduction of Thasos, and they died fighting, according to Herodotus (ix, 75), περὶ τῶν μετάλλων τῶν χρυσεῶν. With their defeat they clearly lost control of this mining area: did it in-

clude Skapte Hyle? In spite of Perdrizet's arguments (*Allo*, X, 1ff.), Thucydides (I, 101, 3) implies that it did not: Θάσσιοι . . . ὡμολόγησαν Ἀθηναίοις . . . τὴν τε ἡπείρου καὶ τὸ μέταλλον ἀφέντες. Such terms would be ridiculous if in fact the Thracians had gained control of Skapte Hyle. Two areas should be distinguished, inland and coastal. Stephanus describes Skapte Hyle as 'πόλις Θράκης μικρὰ ἀντικρὺ Θάσου.' It should lie on or near the coast (Casson, *Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria*, pp. 68-70), possibly at Eski Kavala (Davies, *Roman Mines in Europe*, p. 235). At some time between 446 and 443 the tribute of Thasos rises sharply from 3 to 30 talents. As has often been suggested, this may represent the return of the gold mine to Thasos. By the end of the century Thasos is paying her tribute in Skapte Hyle gold (Wade-Gery, *Num. Chron.*, 1930, p. 10). The Athenians succeeded in their own immediate objective; the more ambitious scheme, from which the allies also were to benefit, failed.

More important than the reforms at home was the abrupt change in Athenian foreign policy. The alliance with Argos and Thessaly was an open challenge to the Peloponnesians, and Athens soon provoked war. This affected the allies intimately, for they were called upon to play their part in the fighting that followed. If we press Thucydides' narrative,⁵ they were not present at the raid on Halieis, nor at the battle of Cecryphaleia, but some of them fought against Aegina. Nor were their commitments limited to naval war: allied contingents were present at Tanagra.⁶ No doubt the Athenians justified their claims: if they were to continue the war against Persia—and League forces were operating in Egypt—they must be protected from the Peloponnesians. But the allies will not have seen it in this light. They were called on to fight in a war against Greeks, which had nothing to do with the original purposes of the League, and which Athens had needlessly brought on herself. The allies had good reason to feel disaffected.

The third influence which we should consider in this period is the activity of Persia. Xerxes' reign had ended, as it had begun, disastrously, and when, a few years after the annihilation of his forces at the Eurymedon, he was murdered, his son Artaxerxes had a difficult succession. The prestige of the empire had been seriously lowered, his claim to the throne was disputed, a revolt had to be faced. In a difficult situation he showed creditable energy. Within six months Artabanus, his father's murderer, had been removed, and by 462 he had crushed his brother Hystaspes in Bactria. But, while the position in Persia was still unsettled, Egypt seized the opportunity to revolt. As soon as his hands were free, Artaxerxes took action. Achaemenes was sent down with a force against Inaros, and, when he failed, more serious and lengthy preparations were set on foot for a new expedition under Megabyzus. But by now Athens had given League support to Inaros, and to minimise the strength of that support, it would be wise to occupy Athens on as wide a front as possible. So Artaxerxes seems to have decided, for he sent Megabyzus with a full purse to Sparta to purchase an invasion of Attica.⁷ For this we have the reliable evidence of Thucydides: of any action taken in Ionia we hear nothing in our literary sources. Yet it is reasonable to believe that while Artaxerxes was sending money to Greece the two western satraps were not idle. Conditions were, indeed, extremely favourable to Persian encroachment. The allies were discontented with the Peloponnesian War, the overthrow of the Areopagus had sharpened the division between democrats and oligarchs, Athens was preoccupied with war in Greece and Egypt. And in the course of the fifties Medism received the substantial encouragement of Persian success against Athens and the League.

The disaster in Egypt may not have been so overwhelming as the account of Thucydides seems to suggest,⁸ but, even at the lowest estimate, the losses to the League, and especially to Athens, were heavy and the immediate results important. The victory of the Eurymedon had paved the way for a phase of vigorous aggression in the Eastern Mediterranean. Squadrons had sailed east of the Chelidonian Islands to consolidate the victory,⁹ the Greeks of Cyprus had been given encouragement and support, the coast of Phoenicia was raided.¹⁰ The first

⁵ Thuc., I, 105, 1–2.

⁶ Thuc., I, 107, 5. Paus. V, 10, 4, a dedication set up by Lacedaemonians and allies for victory over Argives, Athenians and Ionians.

⁷ Thuc., I, 109, 2.

⁸ Thucydides (I, 104, 2) says that the Athenians received the appeal of Inaros when they happened to be campaigning in Cyprus with 200 ships: they left Cyprus, and sailed into the Nile. He does not expressly say that the whole force went to Egypt and stayed there, but that is his natural implication. Diodorus (XI, 74) and Isocrates (*de Pace*, 86) make the force 200 strong. Ctesias, however (*Persica*, 32–36), gives the Athenian total as forty only, and mentions the commander's name, Charitumides. This account receives slight confirmation from an epigram on a statue base recently discovered near the Samian Heraeum (*Klio*, XXXII, p. 289). This locates the naval battle [ἐπὶ Νείλῳ] Μεγαβύζιος ἀπὸ ἑρατῆς (cf. Thuc., I, 104, 2: ἀναπλεύσαντες

ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον τοῦ τε ποταμοῦ κρατοῦντες). 200 ships can hardly have operated in the Nile. Certainly the lower figure is easier to reconcile with Athens' aggressive policy against the Peloponnesians. Further, Adcock points out (*Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, 1926, pp. 3–5) that the 50 triremes διάδοχοι πλέουσαι ἐς Αἴγυπτον should be a 'relief' or 'substitute' squadron, not 'reinforcements.' (See also Cary, *Class. Quart.*, VII, 1913, p. 198).

⁹ Plut., *Cimon* 13. The victory of the Eurymedon was so decisive that Pericles could sail with fifty ships, Ephialtes with a mere thirty, east of the Chelidonians without meeting opposition. This context, given by Callisthenes, is the natural one for such expeditions: Ephialtes' command at least must fall before the end of 461.

¹⁰ IG i², 929 (Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 26) shows that in one year (? 459) men of the Erechtheid tribe died in Cyprus, Egypt, Phoenicia.

success of the Persian expeditionary force under Megabyzus in 456 seriously threatened the Greek ascendancy; the final victory was decisive. Cyprus was temporarily abandoned by the League; a Persian fleet might even be expected in the Aegean.

There are good reasons, then, for expecting disaffection in the League, and especially in Ionia, during this period; but the evidence at our disposal is fragmentary and, often, uncertain. None of the contemporary inscriptions are well preserved, few can be dated accurately. But, collectively, they provide invaluable information and justify important conclusions.

The first document which we should consider, as being probably the earliest, is the longest of the decrees regulating Athenian relations with Erythrae, copied by Fauvel.¹¹ Until recently it was commonly held that in this decree Athens dictated terms to Erythrae following an unsuccessful revolt; but such an assumption has been seriously shaken by Highby's thorough re-examination of the problem.¹² Highby emphasises the friendliness of relations implied in the document, and especially in the oath to be taken by the democratic council. Loyalty is to be shown not merely to Athens, as in the later oath imposed on Chalcis, but to the allies as well (l. 22): οὐκ [ἀποσ]τέσομαι Ἀθηναίων τῷ π[λ]έθ[ος] οὐδὲ [τῶν] χου[ν]μάχων τῶν Ἀθηναίων. The Mede is still prominent in the background (l. 25): [οὐτέ] τῶν φ[ε]υ[γ]όντων [κατ]αδέχομαι οὐδ[έ] ἑνα [τῶν ἐς] Μήδος φε[υ]γο[ν]το[ν]. Erythrae appears to preserve her judicial autonomy: penalties are prescribed, but the cases are to be heard at Erythrae (l. 29). Solidarity with the League is implied in the provision that exile from Erythrae involves exile from League territory (l. 30). The clue to the interpretation of the decree Highby finds in l. 31 f. 'If any one is found betraying the city of the Erythraeans to the tyrants he shall die. . . .' This, he rightly argues, is not a general provision against tyranny, but a specific safeguard against definite individuals: the democracy now being established by Athens was preceded by a tyranny. From this he concludes that Erythrae, ruled by tyrants, stood outside the League in the seventies, and became a member shortly before or shortly after the Eurymedon, when Athens championed a democratic rising and installed a garrison to protect the new democracy which she had established.

Highby has rightly emphasised aspects of the decree which other historians have neglected, but we may question his main conclusions. The fact that the new democracy was preceded by a tyranny does not prove that Erythrae had been ruled by tyrants since the battle of Mycale and before. The evidence equally admits of the view that the tyranny referred to represents a Medising movement which temporarily broke Erythrae's connection with the League: in fact the terms of the decree still make this the more natural interpretation. The friendliness of the decree has been over-emphasised by Highby. The oath of loyalty, it is true, recognises the importance of the allies, but the expulsion and recall of Erythraean citizens rests on the decision of Athens alone. Not only is the first democratic council to be established by purely Athenian officers, the ἐπίσκοποι and the προύρραχος, but the προύρραχος is also to be partly responsible for the approval of its successors (ll. 12-14). The retention of an Athenian garrison in Erythrae is not necessarily a sign of imperialism, for its primary function was to protect Erythrae from a return of Medism, but the political role of the commander suggests that Athens intended to maintain a close control. Further, if this decree marked the incorporation of Erythrae into the League, as Highby maintains, we might expect it to open with a clause to that effect—some such phrase as χου[ν]μαχίαν εἶναι Ἐρυθραίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις καὶ χου[ν]μάχοις, as in the treaties with Phocis, Leontini, Rhegium.¹³ Instead the first section of the decree is concerned with the obligations of Erythrae to the Great Panathenaea, a purely Athenian festival. These obligations are set out in detail; the attempt to make the Great Panathenaea an empire festival is only just beginning. But we may doubt whether the Erythraeans, for whom the minimum value of the victims is strictly laid down, would have viewed the invitation to join

¹¹ IG i², 10 (Tod. No. 29).

¹² L. I. Highby, *The Erythrae Decree* (Klio, beft 36,

neuefolge 23).

¹³ IG i², 26, 52, 51 (Tod. Nos. 39, 57, 58).

with Athenian colonists as a privilege. I do not suggest that Athens was unduly harsh in her treatment of Erythrae; she had intervened in support of the democratic faction and had every reason to be generous to a government which was likely to remain loyal; but her control was firm.

There remains the problem of dating the decree. If we could accept Highby's identification of *I.G.* i² 12/13a as part of the document, our margin of error would be limited; for this fragment can be studied in the museum at Athens and compared with a long series of dated documents. The temptation must be resisted. The fragment is strictly stoichedon, with lines of forty-seven letters: it is almost certain that the lost decree cannot be restored on this basis.¹⁴ The rho of the fragment is angular without tail: that form rarely, if ever, appears in the lost decree. The fragment preserves part of an oath, from the bottom of the stone: it is unlikely but not impossible that the oath to be administered to the council was followed by a second oath in the same document.

Little importance can be attached to letter forms, when Fauvel's copy, as well as the original stone, has been lost. Highby, after rather cursory comparisons, thought that they indicated a date in the middle sixties. Meritt¹⁵ has pointed out that the early forms of beta, phi and rho all appear as late as 450/49. He has also advanced positive arguments which support a later rather than an earlier dating. The emphasis on the Athenian Boule and Demos in the oath 'implies the democratic ascendancy of the Council of the Five Hundred, and one wonders whether it is not more appropriate after the reforms of Ephialtes than before.' De Sanctis¹⁶ has drawn the same conclusion. We know perhaps too little of the spirit and formal expression of Athenian government in the period before the reforms to stress this point, but other arguments tend to the same conclusion. Meritt points out that the length of the line (c. 47 letters) implies that the letters should be relatively small and not too widely spaced, features that argue against an early dating. We may also note that, whatever the exact form of the prescript, mention is made of the ἐπιστάτης. This is consistent with the full democratic formula as we know it in the fifties and later. No mention, however, is made of the ἐπιστάτης in the two prescripts that have survived from the period before the overthrow of the Areopagus¹⁷: it is tempting to believe that the full formula, mentioning the prytanising tribe, secretary, epistates and proposer, was first introduced with the radical reforms of Ephialtes.

The lost decree is not our only evidence for relations between Athens and Erythrae during this period: three surviving fragments, two in the Epigraphic Museum at Athens, one in the British Museum, call for brief discussion. Two of these fragments, *I.G.* i² 11 and 12/13a, mention Erythrae or the Erythraeans and are clearly relevant to our purpose: the relevance of the third (12 13b) is, at best, uncertain. Koehler thought that both the fragments in Athens came from the same stele and formed part of the same decree: as Kirchhoff saw, he was almost certainly wrong. In spite of a general similarity in style, there are small but significant differences in some of the letter forms, and, whereas the cutter of the smaller fragment (b) used marks of punctuation, no traces of punctuation are found on the larger fragment (a). The same objections prevent the association of 12/13b with 11, and we may ignore it. Though it deals with judicial relations there is no evidence to connect it with Erythrae.

There remain then two fragments, and these bear a very strong resemblance to each other. The letter forms and the size and spacing of letters correspond: it is a reasonable hypothesis that they are in fact part of a single decree. What relation in time and tendency does this decree bear to the decree that is lost? As far as letter forms are concerned, they need not be far apart: both use similar early forms of sigma, beta, phi. The reference in the London fragment to a φρούραρχος (l. 6) and, more particularly, to ἐπίσκοποι (l. 4) recalls the lost decree, and suggests that the two decrees may be part of the same settlement. For comparison we could point to the Chalcis settlement following the revolt of 446, for there too the

¹⁴ Epigraphic arguments are considered more fully in an appendix.

^{14a} Highby, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

¹⁵ Reviewing Highby in *AJPh*, LVIII, pp. 359-361.

¹⁶ *Riv. di Fil.*, 1937, p. 301.

¹⁷ *IG* i², 1 (Tod, No. 11) and 5.

terms imposed were not confined to a single decree.¹⁸ The Athens fragment comes from the very end of the decree and gives us part of an oath: οὐκ ἀπο[στέ]σομα[ι] Ἀ[θ]εναίων τῷ πλέθῳ οὐδὲ τῶν χουνμάχων τῶν Ἀθ[ε]ν[αίων] οὐτ' αὐ[τὸς] ἐγὼ οὔτε ἄλλοι πείσομαι, ἀλλὰ γνόμεναι τῇ[ι] Ἀθ[ε]ν[αίων] πείσομαι. . . . If the two decrees are contemporaries this may represent an oath taken by the whole people, as distinct from the council; but the last clause seems to have a more imperial flavour than the oath administered to the Boule, and it is perhaps better, tentatively, to refer it to a second and later decree.

A clue to the dating may be found in the tribute lists of the late fifties. In the assessment period following 450 there is a close relation between Erythrae and the small communities on her peninsula: Polichna, Sidousa, Pteleon, Boutheia. Normally they are named individually but are listed together, as in 450/49. In the assessment period 434-430 they are listed as Ἐρυθραῖοι καὶ χουντελεῖς. In the first period, 454-450, no entry for Erythrae has survived. The only town on the peninsula which is known to have paid is Boutheia, in the first two lists; and in 453/2, where alone the quota is preserved, its tribute is 3 talents, in striking contrast to the 1000 dr. which it pays later. Wade-Gery¹⁹ has pointed the significance of these figures: 'there is little doubt that in the first period it (Boutheia) acts as the syntely-centre for Sidousa, Pteleon, etc.' We may infer that, at least from 454 to 452, Erythrae was outside the League: its first known payment comes in 449. Kolbe,²⁰ agreeing with Highby's interpretation of the lost decree, has concluded that Erythrae first entered the League between 452 and 449. We have already seen reason to question Highby's conclusion, in the actual terms of the decree; but the case against him becomes very much stronger if we accept Kolbe's dating—Highby may well be feeling uncomfortable at the boldness of his allies. The middle sixties form a reasonable historical background for the entry of important new members to the League: it would be a strange paradox that Erythrae should have remained pro-Persian in sympathy after the Greek victory at the Eurymedon and should freely enter the League after the defeat in Egypt. It is surely easier to believe that Erythrae was a member in the sixties, but became disaffected in the fifties. The letter forms of the fragments we have studied suit admirably the date implied by the tribute lists.

A complex argument may here be briefly summarised. The tribute lists suggest that Erythrae was outside the League from 454 to 450. *I.G.*² 11 and 12/13a, probably parts of a single decree, represent the restoration of Athenian control at the end of this period. The lost decree, *I.G.*² 10, also represents an Athenian settlement of affairs at Erythrae, but does not come from the same decree. As far as we can judge from its letter forms, it might be an exact contemporary, but a comparison of the oaths in the two decrees suggests that it is earlier. Until we have more evidence, two hypotheses should be left open. It is possible that Erythrae broke away in the early fifties (the sixties cannot be absolutely excluded), was recovered, but gave further trouble in the late fifties. It is more probable, perhaps, that the lost decree represents the first settlement between 452 and 449, that it did not prove completely satisfactory or sufficient, and was closely followed by our second decree.

Such a construction becomes more compelling when we consider contemporary developments in another Persian city. In turning from Erythrae to Miletus we have a firmer starting point. The report of the συγγραφεὺς on Athenian relations with Miletus²¹ was adopted by the Assembly in 450/49; and the recent discovery of a new fragment of the stele by Oliver has thrown considerable light on the measures adopted by Athens. These suggest an imperialism more developed than that of the lost Erythrae decree. Judicial relations are set out in full. Not only are cases arising from military and tribute obligations to be heard in Athens; it seems also that certain other cases are to be referred to Athenian courts. For the oath imposed on Miletus we have no evidence, though provision is made for Athenian officials to

¹⁸ *IG* ² 39 (Tod, No. 42). 'There are indications on the stone that another slab was affixed on the left' (Tod, L. 49, κατὰ τὰ ἐφευρισμένα μὲν refer to this second decree.

¹⁹ *The Athenian Tribute Lists* (A.T.L.), Vol. I. p. 487.

²⁰ *Hermes*, 1938, LXXIII, p. 254.

²¹ *IG* ² 22. Re-edited with new fragment, J. H. Oliver, *T.A.P.A.* LXVI, 1935, 177.

administer it. As at Erythrae, a garrison has been installed at Miletus, but it seems that political control is given to a civil board rather than to the *φρούραρχος*. The first recommendation of the commission is that five men shall be chosen at once by the assembly to go to Miletus. They are referred to several times in the document, as *τοὶ ἄρχοντες τοὶ Ἀθηναίων*, *τοὶ πέντε*, *τοὶ πέντε τοὶ ἄρχοντες*, and their duties are important. They are to co-operate with the local magistrates, apparently in establishing the military and financial obligations of Miletus, they are to administer the oath, they are to exercise some form of judicial control. They are nowhere called *ἐπίσκοποι*, nor does that title appear in the document: Oliver²² is surely right in regarding them as a board of Athenian political residents, as distinct from a temporary commission. Such officials we have long known, from inscriptions and literary sources, in a later phase of the empire; the dating of the decree imposing Athenian coinage and weights and measures on the allies to the early forties²³ has now shown that these *ἄρχοντες τῶν Ἀθηναίων* were already a familiar institution before the Thirty Years' Peace of 446/5. Their appearance at Miletus in 450/49 should be stressed, for it marks a stronger interference with local autonomy than the establishment of *φρουροί*. One other point in this document is relevant to our purpose and demands brief discussion. In re-editing the text, on the discovery of the new fragment, Oliver restored ll. 48–50 as follows: *ταῦτα δ' ἀναγράφει*[[αι] *ἐν στέλει*, [[κἀ] *τοῖς φεφίσμασι τοῖς Ἀθηναίων αἰεὶ χρῆσθαι τὸς Μιλεσίους κ]*[[αί] *μὲ διαφθεῖναι*]] *μεδὲ κακοτέχνειν τόπος με κύρια ἔσται* The Milesians, it appears, are to use the decrees of the Athenians; they are not to destroy them, nor to contrive to render them invalid. Oliver believes that the decrees in question were 'special decrees issued from time to time, concerning chiefly the commercial relations between members of the empire'; but this does not seem to be the most natural meaning: reference is much more probably made to the decrees, of which the present document is one, regulating Athenian relations with Miletus. The insertion of this clause, if this is the right interpretation, suggests that the situation in Miletus was unstable and that the Athenian settlement might arouse strong opposition.

Before we reconstruct the background of this document other evidence must be considered. A mid-fifth-century Milesian decree²⁴ provides for the perpetual and hereditary outlawing of two families. The motive for this drastic action, as Tod and others have suggested, is no doubt some form of treason, presumably an attempt, whether successful or not, to establish a tyranny in Miletus. As at Erythrae, the tyranny may have been supported by the Medes; probably it meant secession from the League. Of this there is perhaps again a reflection in the tribute lists. In 454/3 'the Milesians from Leros' and 'the Milesians from Teichiussa' pay separately,²⁵ the former as much as three talents. From 450 down to the assessment of 428 Leros and Teichiussa disappear from the tribute records, presumably because Miletus controls her dependencies and pays for them. When they appear again in 427/6 they are listed immediately after Miletus. Such is the natural order, but there is no entry for Miletus in this position in 454/3. We may conclude that Miletus had broken away from the League, and, perhaps, that some of the loyalists had taken refuge in Leros²⁶ and Teichiussa—in much the same manner as the anti-Persian faction in Colophon fled to Notium in 430 when their

²² *Op. cit.*, pp. 188–190.

²³ Segre in *Clara Rhodos*, IX, pp. 151 ff. The new fragment from Cos, unlike the other fragments of this decree known, was engraved in Attic on Pentelic marble, and may therefore be compared with a long series of datable inscriptions from Athens. It is dangerous to press arguments from letter forms too hard, but the three-bar sigma of the fragment points to a date before the middle forties. The four-bar sigma appears occasionally in the fifties: it is dominant after 446. In no later surviving decree and several are preserved from the middle forties is the archaic form used. The *δοσι* from Samos (Schede, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIV, p. 7, which have the three-bar sigma, would be an exception to the rule, if they mark the settlement of 439; but until this date is established beyond dispute and the letter forms seem strangely archaic for Samian or Attic

inscriptions of such a date) the criterion may be used. Segre (pp. 169–171) also finds internal evidence for dating the decree to 449, but his argument, though attractive, is not conclusive. There were certainly exceptions made or taken to the Athenian decree, but Gardner had long ago pointed out a break in the coinages of the islands and most of the cities of western Asia by the middle of the century (*JHS*, XXXIII, 1913, pp. 147 ff., especially pp. 150 and 181).

²⁴ Tod, No. 35.

²⁵ The best text in *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, Vol. I, List I, Col. VI, 19–22.

²⁶ We may compare Hecataeus' advice to Aristagoras in the Ionian revolt to fortify Leros if driven out of Miletus (*Her.*, V, 125).

own city had fallen under Persian influence.²⁷ The Milesian loyalists continued to pay tribute from their new home, as did the Colophonians later. By 452/1 they were probably back in Miletus, for in that year the entry Μιλέσ[οι],²⁸ without qualification, appears in the year's tribute list.

The constitutional history of Miletus in this period is still uncertain. In the early fourth century we find a fully developed democracy on an Athenian model, with the Attic tribes and two others, and the Athenian system of prytanies.²⁹ It is logical to believe that the Milesian government which in 441 attracted the sympathy of Samian democrats was a democracy: it is more difficult to feel confident when it was established. There is a natural temptation to believe that it was imposed by Athens at the date of the commission's report, but the document affords no evidence to support this view.³⁰ The five Athenian ἄρχοντες are to co-operate with the existing magistrates, and not with a democratic council; and the πρυτάνες of l. 67 seem to be the long-established board of Milesian magistrates rather than the standing committee of a council. Further, the Old Oligarch³¹ tells us that at one period the Athenians 'chose the best men' in Miletus, but that the experiment was unsuccessful: they soon revolted and cut down the demos. It is possible then that the Milesian tyranny was followed by an oligarchy, which in turn proved unsatisfactory, with the result that Athens again interfered and established a democracy. It is perhaps worth noting that in the tribute list of 448/7,³² which is particularly well preserved, Miletus does not appear, and its position in the following year suggests strongly that it had in fact defaulted. The list of 447/6 follows very closely the order of its predecessor. Miletus is listed towards the end of the first column, immediately preceded by Aenos and Thasos, which seem to have made incomplete payments in 447, and followed by Latmos, Myous, Ephesus, Iasus, Kindya which did not appear at all. There seems then to have been a renewal of disaffection at Miletus in 447, which may have led to the change of constitution.

Once again a brief summary: In 454/3 tribute is paid by Milesians in Leros and Teichiussa, and Miletus herself apparently makes no payment. The town is in revolt, and the loyalists have fled. The tribute list of 452/1 suggests that they are back by then, and the local Milesian inscription reflects the expulsion of the Medizers. In that document ἐπιμήνιοι fill the role of πρυτάνεις; an Athenian constitution has not been introduced and we may date to this period the Athenian support of oligarchy mentioned by the Old Oligarch. In 450/49 (I.G.i², 22) Athens tightened her control by measures which included the establishment of Athenian political residents, but the oligarchy was still tolerated. The experiment was unsuccessful: stasis followed, Miletus refused tribute payment in 448/7. A new settlement was needed, and a democracy was now imposed on the Athenian model.

We have seen something of Medism in Ionia during the fifties. The Mede is also recognised as a potential danger in Aeolis, as the decree recording Athens' gratitude to Sigeum shows.

²⁷ Thuc., III, 34.

²⁸ List 3, Col. II, 28.

²⁹ Th. Wiegand, *Sitzb. Berl. Akad.* (1901), p. 911.

³⁰ A much later copy (SIG³, 57) gives the regulations drafted by the Μόλποι at Miletus for the sacred ceremonies under their charge, in the year 450/49. That the date is the year of the Athenian decree is probably not coincidence, but no conclusion can be drawn from the Milesian inscription as to the precise nature of Athenian interference in this year, or the form of government under which the Μόλποι issued their regulations.

³¹ Pseudo-Xen., *Ath. Pol.*, 3, 11.

³² The dating of the lists of the second assessment period remains controversial. I accept the conclusions of *A.T.L.*, and consider that Lists 7 and 8 are rightly dated to 448/7 and 447/6, and that no quota list for 449/8 was recorded on the stele.

This dating has been strongly attacked by Accame (*Riv. di Fil.* XVI (412-3), Gomme *Class. Rev.*, LIV, pp. 65-7), Dow (*Class. Phil.*, XXXVII, pp. 371 ff., and

XXXVIII, pp. 20 ff.). All these critics prefer to date lists 7 and 8 to 449/8 and 448/7, and consider that in 447/6 either no list was recorded (Accame) or a very short list (Gomme and Dow). They have been answered by Meritt (*Class. Phil.*, XXXVIII, pp. 223 ff.) and Wade-Gery (in a paper to be published in *Hesperia*). The two main arguments, in my opinion, for retaining the *A.T.L.* dating are:

(1) The absence of a numeral, for the first and probably the last time, in the prescript of List 7 suggests irregularity.

(2) If a third list in this period was recorded it should have been inscribed on the lateral face below List 8 where there was ample room for a shortened list. It is clear, however, that the space below List 8 was left blank. It is also probable that the top of the reverse face was left blank in view of the absence of identified inscribed fragments.

I consider that Meritt has pushed the purely epigraphic evidence too far in maintaining that τρεῖς is virtually impossible in the prescript of List 8. But ὅγδοες υ. υ. is a possible reconstruction as Dow admits and Wade-Gery emphasises.

A recently discovered fragment of the stone, published by Meritt,³³ dates this decree to the archonship of Antidotos, 451/0. The men of Sigeum are praised for their loyalty to the Athenian demos and, in the final clause of the decree, they are promised protection 'against anyone soever on the mainland,' an indirect reference to the Mede. Meritt has suggested that this decree marks the entry of Sigeum to the League, but such a view must rest on other premises—the inscription of 451/0 gives it no support. The length of line is short, twenty-three letters only, and the form of stele is typical of the high narrow stones used for complimentary decrees in honour of cities or individuals.³⁴ It is certain that the decree did not include elaborate provisions such as we find in the Erythraean and Milesian settlements: if Sigeum was now being enrolled as a new member we should have expected a much lengthier document. One other argument used by Meritt is more serious: Sigeum does not appear on our fragments of the tribute lists until 449. Alternative explanations may, however, be offered. It is possible that Sigeum's absence from our record is due to coincidence, for some coincidences there must surely be among the names which have not survived from 454 to 450. It is also possible that Sigeum's tribute had been remitted in return for help provided to Athens, or, less probably, that she had paid her money to Athenian forces operating in or near the district.³⁵ For it is difficult to believe that Sigeum, an Athenian colony, would have stood outside the League so long. She had certainly had closer ties with the Athenian tyrants than with the Athenian state, and Hippias had taken refuge there on his expulsion from Athens when he was looking to Persia for help; but a change of attitude in the town might be expected on the Greek victory at Mycale and the Athenian foundation of the Delian League. Even if Sigeum had remained under Persian control after Mycale, Cimon would have surely added it to the League in his Hellespontine campaign, which followed soon after the Eurymedon.³⁶ In that campaign, as we know from the casualty list,³⁷ men died fighting 'ἐπὶ Σιγείοις', and Plutarch's account suggests that the operations were completely successful. It is easier then to believe that our decree records the official gratitude of Athens to Sigeum for loyalty during a difficult period, when other cities were infected with Medism and had to be brought back into the League by force.

If we are right in believing that there was widespread unrest in Asia Minor at this time, it would be natural to suspect Colophon. From early days she had carried her Hellenism lightly. She did not celebrate the Apaturia,³⁸ she played no active part in the Ionian revolt. In the fifth century her coinage was minted on the Persian standard,³⁹ and in the Second Peloponnesian War she took an early opportunity to Medize, in 430.⁴⁰ Her inland position made her less accessible to Athenian sea-power than the coastal cities.

We have, in fact, some fragments of a decree regulating the affairs of Colophon.⁴¹ A commission of five Athenians is sent to the town, as to Miletus. The oath is partly preserved, but cannot be restored with certainty. The allies may or may not have been mentioned, but the restoration of l. 39: καὶ δημοκρατίαν οὐ καταλύσο τὴν νῦν ὄσαν] is extremely probable. Athens, it seems, has replaced a tyranny or oligarchy by a democracy. The letter forms of this decree are notoriously irregular and difficult to date; but the years from 454 to 450 should probably be excluded, because Colophon pays her tribute regularly in the first period. In view of the developed form of phi especially, it is easier to place the decree in the early forties than in the early fifties. This again fits in well with the evidence of the tribute lists, for no Colophonian entry has been preserved in 449, 447 or 446. Earlier trouble cannot be proved, but suspicion would not be uncritical.

We may finally turn to the tribute lists for evidence of a more comprehensive character.

³³ *IG* i², 32, re-edited, with new fragment, Meritt, *Hesperia* V, 360.

³⁴ Cf. *IG* i², 23, 36, 56, 82.

³⁵ In the tribute lists of the Archidamian War period tribute paid to overseas officers or forces is listed separately e.g., List 25, Col. I, 59; Col. III, 66). Such distinctions are not made in the early lists, but it is probable that Athena's quota would be recorded even when the main

tribute payment was not made at Athens.

³⁶ Plut., *Cimon*, 14.

³⁷ *IG* i², 928, ll. 32, 99.

³⁸ Her., I, 147.

³⁹ Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 569.

⁴⁰ Thuc., III, 34.

⁴¹ *IG* i², 14 '15. A better text in Hondius, *Novae Inscriptiones Atticae*, pp. 7 ff.

In 449 roughly 175 cities paid tribute to Athens. During the first assessment period from 454 to 450 the numbers are considerably lower. In 454/3, the first year recorded, the maximum number of lines is 150, set out in six columns, but the bottom of the final column is missing and there may have been one or more vacant lines. In estimating the number of cities entered on the stele, however, special provision must be made for the abnormally large number of double-line entries. While three cities in one place occupy two lines, no less than ten occupy two lines, and one-third of the list is missing. The maximum number of cities is 141, and the actual number was probably nearer 135. In the following three lists the count of lines gives a closer estimate, since double-line entries are much rarer (1, 4, 3 respectively) and the number of lines at the bottom of columns which may have been uninscribed is negligible. The margin of error, especially in lists 2, 3, 4 is sufficiently small for importance to be attached to the figures:

List No.	Date.	Maximum No. of Cities.	Estimated No. of Cities.
1.	454/3	141	135
2.	453/2	162	158
3.	452/1	147	145
4.	451/0	157	155

Notes.—(1) Max. no. of cities is based on the actual number of cities preserved ÷ the number of missing lines, making no allowance for possible double-line entries.

(2) Estimated no. of cities makes allowance for double-line entries in missing parts of the list. The number of such entries in the missing lines of list 2 is assumed to be larger than in lists 3 or 4 since only one-third of list 2 is present as against two-thirds of lists 3 and 4.

The first list is the shortest of which we have evidence. It follows immediately after the Egyptian disaster ⁴² and the transference of the treasury from Delos to Athens, and suggests

⁴² The chronology of the Egyptian revolt is not vital to the main thesis of this paper, but it affects some of my individual arguments. The following scheme is adopted. Inaros' first move should come before Artaxerxes has completely stabilised his position: Diodorus' date (XI, 71), 463/2, may be right. The local Persian forces in the Delta were overcome without difficulty: Achaemenes brought reinforcements. He was defeated by Inaros at Papremis (461 or early 460), and the Persians took refuge in Memphis, supported by a small force of Phoenician ships in the Nile. In 460 Inaros appealed to the Athenians in Cyprus for help (in spite of Diodorus' account, Herodotus, Thucydides and Ctesias all imply that the Athenians were not present at Papremis). The Athenians sent c. forty to eighty ships, including a Samian contingent (*Alia*, XXXII, p. 289), which defeated the Phoenicians off Memphis in the Nile, and settled down to besiege the Persian force. In 456 Megabyzus and Artabanus brought down strong reinforcements: the Greeks were thrown back on the defensive, and finally capitulated in the early summer of 454.

This chronology is based mainly on Thucydides' account. (1) It is assumed that the disaster is set by Thuc. (I, 109 and 110) in a chronological setting, after the expedition of Tolmides (455), before the Thessalian expedition and Pericles' raid on Sicily from Pegae. Following these expeditions there was inactivity for three years—*διαλιπόντων ἐτῶν τριῶν*—and then the five years' truce with Sparta. This truce was made in 451 after Cimon's return from ostracism (spring), before the end of the summer. Military operations had ended in 454.

(2) τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πράγματα ἐφάρη ἐξ ἑτὶ πολέμησαντα (Thuc., I, 110, 1). This should mean that the Greeks were in Egypt six complete years. If the end came in the summer of 454, they will have intervened in summer 460. The offensive against the Peloponnesians began after the first success in Egypt. (3) The first quota list is dated to 454/3. This suggests that the final failure in Egypt, the probable cause of the transference of the treasury from Delos, was in 454.

Wallace (*TAPA*, LXVII, 1936, p. 252) has advocated a

later date. He believes that Athens intervened late in 459, that Megabyzus relieved Memphis in the summer of 454, that the Greeks capitulated at the end of 453. Thuc., he thinks, fits the failure of the Egyptian revolt into his chronological framework at the point of its climax, the decisive victory of Megabyzus before Memphis. This preceded the Thessalian campaign and Pericles' expedition, but the capitulation came later. For such a practice he compares (following de Sanctis, *Storia della Repubblica Ateniese* ², pp. 483 ff.) Thucydides' treatment of Ithome. The comparison, however, is not exact.

Admittedly, if we read *δεκάτῳ ἔτει* in I, 103, 1 (as I, with Wallace, believe that we should), Thuc. proceeds in 103, 4 to events which come earlier than the fall of Ithome, described in 103, 3. But that was the natural result of describing the siege of Ithome in a single piece. It does not explain why Thuc. chose this particular point to complete the story of the Egyptian expedition. That he did so because it marked the crisis is possible, but not supported by reference to Thucydidean practice. Wallace argues that 'the alarm caused by the final, less spectacular defeat of the Athenians eighteen months later, with which the removal of the treasury is usually connected, seems not to provide so good a motive' as the relief of Memphis by Megabyzus. From the narrative of Thuc. it is clear that for the Greeks the final defeat was infinitely more spectacular than the first serious check. κατὰ γῆν τοὺς τε Αἰγυπτίους καὶ τοὺς συμμαχοὺς μάχη ἐκράτησε καὶ ἐκ τῆς Μέρμιδος ἐξήλασε τοὺς Ἑλλήνας καὶ τέλος ἐς Προσωπίτιδα τὴν νῆσον κατέκλεψε: the first blow fell on the Egyptian land forces, the position of the Greeks only became desperate later. The carelessness of the νῆς διαδόχῳ suggests that even at the end it was not realised in Athens how desperate it had become.

Wallace uses the Erechtheid casualty list (*IG* i², 929, Tod, No. 26) in support. The places are listed chronologically. There was fighting in Cyprus, the fleet left for Egypt, and the greater part then returned, raiding Phoenicia en route: the list covers losses at the end of 459 and in 458. Certainly it is difficult to date this list back to 460: but it need not necessarily mark the first year of the

widespread unrest in the League. The variation of numbers in the next three years suggests that Athens is too preoccupied or too weak to enforce regular payment. When she has secured a five years' truce with Sparta in 451 and won a major victory off Cyprus in 450, she is better able to enforce her will, and the total of tribute received rises sharply in 449.

One further feature of these early lists calls for attention. A striking number of island cities do not appear in our records of the first period. Of the Euboean cities, Chalcis, Eretria, Hestiaea, Styra appear for the first time in 449 or later. Of the Cyclades Naxos, Paros, Tenos are also missing. Some of these absences from our record may be explained by the coincidence of survival, but coincidence can hardly cover all the cases. Although the early lists are still very incomplete, more than 170 cities appear one or more times, and the proportion of absentees in the other districts is very different. Of the Hellespontine states that appear before the end of the second assessment period only three are missing⁴³; in Ionia the Erythraean syntely (apart from Boutheia) is the sole instance, though we might add two states which appear for the first time in the third period.⁴⁴ In the Thraceward district there are only three clear cases and one of these, Sciathus, is near to Euboea; but here again we should perhaps add two states which appear first in the late forties.⁴⁵ In Caria the number is higher. Ten states that appear in the second period are absent in the first, and five more appear first in the third period. But this we should expect. The Carian district was always the most difficult to control and it was unlikely so soon after the defeat in Egypt that Athenian ships would sail regularly to Caria to enforce payment.

From these figures it is legitimate to conclude that a considerable proportion of the inland district did not bring tribute to Athens in the late fifties, a fact which needs explanation in view of the nearness of many of them to the Peiraeus. West,⁴⁶ who was the first to recognise the problem, explained it by dating the conversion of ship contributions to money payments in the last phase of Cimon's control of League forces and League policy. For this interpretation he found evidence in the literary sources. Thucydides,⁴⁷ he argues, sets an upper limit in the revolt of Naxos: for it is in a digression immediately after his account of that revolt that he explains briefly the causes and results of the many revolts which followed. 'The allies,' he says, 'brought all this upon themselves: for the majority of them disliked military service and absence from home, and so they agreed to contribute their share of the expense instead of ships.' West finds a more exact date in a passage of Plutarch's *Life of Cimon*.⁴⁸ We are there told that Cimon persuaded the allies to send money instead of crews in opposition to the other generals, who had followed a systematic policy of fines and punishments towards states which failed to contribute their full quota of ships. Though Plutarch gives no explicit indication of date, West argues that this must have been at a time when Cimon was in control of the League, but following a period when others had been in power. Such conditions are only satisfied after Cimon's return from ostracism, for, previous to his expulsion, his control had been undisputed. The change was made when the allies had been made war weary by campaigns in Peloponnesian waters and in Egypt. It was, at the time, a popular policy, adopted by Cimon to conciliate the allies before what proved to be his final campaign in eastern waters.

Thus stated, the new policy seems at first sight to have reasonable motives; but the texts have been rigorously handled. The passage in Thucydides affords no secure basis. The abandonment of ship contributions is given as the main reason for the ineffectiveness of revolt:

Egyptian expedition. If only part of the fleet from Cyprus cf. note 8: had gone to Egypt in 460, it would be natural to follow up the offensive in Cyprus and on the coast of Phoenicia in 459. One last argument should be examined. The fact that quite a few Carian cities including two which do not appear again, paid tribute in 453/2 perhaps suggests that an Athenian fleet was active in the neighbourhood in the summer of 453. This is not decisive. The towns in question are mainly in the Ceramic Gulf: Athens might well have sent a small fleet here one or two years after the defeat in Egypt. We may even argue that the rise in the number of states paying from c. 141 in 154/3 to c. 159 in

453/2 would be surprising if this list immediately followed the disaster: for the year's tribute would have normally been paid not in the summer of 453 but at the Dionysia in 452.

⁴³ Harpagianoi, Otlenoi, Sigeum.

⁴⁴ Isindioi, Pugeles.

⁴⁵ Acanthus seems absent in the first period. Othorioi and Potidaea appear for the first time certainly in 443/2 and 445/4.

⁴⁶ *Am. Hist. Rev.*, 1930, pp. 267 ff.

⁴⁷ Thuc. I, 99.

⁴⁸ Plut., *Cim.*, 11.

having no fleets, the allies were unprepared for war. The revolts in question followed that of Naxos; the change to money payments may have come either before or after, but, if it came as long after as West assumes, Thucydides would surely have put the passage in a later context. Nor can we follow West in his interpretation of Plutarch. Plutarch's source may contain nothing more than light embroidery round this same chapter in Thucydides: but even assuming that it has independent value, it would suit a date in the sixties as well as the much later date proposed by West. It is an over-simplification of history to believe that Cimon's control was undisputed until his ostracism. The storm broke in 461, but it had been growing for some years. The assembly was sharply divided on the issue of sending a force to help Sparta at Ithome, Cimon had been prosecuted on his return from Thasos, Ephialtes, the leading radical, had been elected general soon after the Eurymedon.

West's thesis has no solid support in the literary sources, but it remains a possible explanation of the apparent absence of these cities from the tribute lists of the first period, especially if the emphasis of his argument is slightly shifted. West considered that the cities which paid no tribute in the first period were charter members who until 450 provided ships. Wade-Gery (in a paper not yet published) argues that these West Aegean cities continued to provide ships until 450, not because they were charter members, but because they were near to the Peiraeus and convenient for the assembly of the fleet. The thesis thus restated is more persuasive, but it may still be doubted whether 450 is a plausible context for the transition from ship contributions to money payments. In 450 Cimon required a *large* fleet urgently. The extra money that would come in from the West Aegean cities would not provide ships for the Cyprian campaign. If the ships of these cities had served through the fifties they would be too useful for the Cyprian campaign to be left in home waters.

A different explanation may therefore be sought for the absence of the islanders in the first period. Nesselhauf⁴⁹ is more probably right in regarding it as a sign of disaffection in the district, following the Egyptian disaster. We may suspect an additional motive in the removal of the treasury from Delos to Athens in 454. The islands may have resented this step more than the other districts which were less closely associated with Delos. When the system of cleruchies was begun by Athens, it was the island district which suffered most heavily. We may, with Nesselhauf, see in this measure a penalty for their defaulting.

The dating of these settlements must next be considered, for the problem is vital to any study of the development of Athenian imperialism. Nesselhauf,⁵⁰ after a full survey of the evidence, adds his support to the general view that they fall in the period 448-6 and represent an attempt to shift the resentment caused by the maintenance of the empire after the Peace of Callias. We need feel no qualms in neglecting Diodorus' ⁵¹ dating of the Chersonnese cleruchy to 453/2 in face of an almost certain inference from the tribute lists. The discovery that what was formerly regarded as the tribute list of 448/7 is, in fact, part of the second year's list, of 453/2, has indeed modified the problem ⁵²; but though we no longer have a secure dating to 447 we can still set the expedition of Pericles between 449 ⁵³ and 446. If we reject Diodorus, Plutarch is the sole literary authority who may have value for our chronology. Plutarch ⁵⁴ sets the sending out of cleruchies in the struggle between Thucydides, son of Melesias, and Pericles. The emergence of Thucydides as an important political figure follows, in Plutarch's narrative, immediately after the death of Cimon. He was put up by the opposition, and concentrated his supporters in the assembly. Pericles, to keep his position, played the demagogue with such sops to the demos as festivals, annual squadrons in the Aegean providing pay for the rowers, and cleruchies. These last were sent out, Plutarch tells us, partly to alleviate poverty, partly to strengthen Athens' control of the allies—φόβον δὲ καὶ φρουρὰν τοῦ

⁴⁹ *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Delisch-Attischen Symmachie*, pp. 11 ff. *Klio, beilage* 30, 1933¹.

⁵⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 120 ff.

⁵¹ Diod., XI. 88.

⁵² Wade-Gery, *BSA*, XXXIII, pp. 101 ff.

⁵³ In 449 (List 5, line 12) χερροννηστῶν pay a quota of

1384 dr. instead of 1800 as in the first period. This presumably represents an incomplete payment. After the settlement of the cleruchy the tribute of the peninsula drops to 2 talents and the towns pay separately.

⁵⁴ Plut., *Pericles*, p. 11.

μή νεωτερίζειν τι παρακατοικίζων τοῖς συμμάχοις. The upper limit suggested by Plutarch is the death of Cimon, in the summer of 450; but it is reasonable to prefer a somewhat later date, assuming that Thucydides would not have become a dangerous opponent at once. There is, however, no hint of the Peace of Callias in this context, and it is doubtful whether we can press its chronological implications closely.

The evidence of the tribute lists points to a date before the Peace for the first settlements. The despatch of settlers to the Chersonnese was accompanied by a considerable reduction in tribute, from 18 to 2 talents; and if, as seems very probable, the settlers who went to live among the Bisaltai were established in the territory of Argilus, the settlement may account for the reduction of tribute from $10\frac{1}{2}$ talents to 1 talent.⁵⁵ It is reasonable to apply this test elsewhere. Plutarch includes in his list 500 cleruchs sent to Naxos and 250 to Andros. In 450 Andros paid 12 talents, in 449 and afterwards 6 talents only. Meyer⁵⁶ inferred from this the sending out of a cleruchy in 450, and we may follow him. For Naxos the evidence is less good. Though the name and tribute are restored, in the most recent edition of the texts, in the list of 450/49,⁵⁷ the name is not certain, and there is no evidence for the amount of tribute paid. Naxos appears clearly for the first time in 447,⁵⁸ and pays then, as later, $6\frac{2}{3}$ talents. This is a very low tribute for a state which Herodotus⁵⁹ described as the most prosperous of the islands at the close of the sixth century. It is again reasonable to infer that the cleruchy had been accompanied by a reduction, and that the cleruchy should be dated before the spring of 447. The settlement at Naxos is connected by Pausanias⁶⁰ and probably by Diodorus⁶¹ with a cleruchy in Euboea: Tolmides established the settlers, after his expedition round the Peloponnese in 455 and before the battle of Coronea in 447. This is sound evidence for a Euboean settlement, and the tribute lists may give a hint as to one of the places affected. Hestiaea is not found on any of the fragments of the first period, but pays in 449.⁶² The editors have restored a quota of $16\frac{2}{3}$ dr., but this is an inference from the recorded payment of 446.⁶³ A tribute of 1000 dr. is surprisingly small for a city that had wide territories: and again it is reasonable to infer a reduction in compensation for land given to cleruchs. The argument in fact is cumulative and convincing: unless we can find a clear instance of a cleruchy which was not accompanied by compensation, we should accept the natural inference. Hestiaea was settled before 446, Naxos before 447, Andros in 450. It is likely that they formed part of a single expedition undertaken by Tolmides in the late summer of 450, and that they were intended as a penalty for disaffection in the late fifties.

Nesselhauf, insisting on the primacy of Plutarch's evidence, has in a measure anticipated these inferences, and rejected them, with little argument. While stressing the importance of the tribute lists for the dating of the Chersonnese cleruchy, he will not admit a necessary connection in other cases between cleruchy and reduction. The settlement of the Chersonnese was a friendly measure to protect the inhabitants of the peninsula from Thracian inroads: it was natural to offer compensation to friends for the land occupied. At Naxos and Andros the motives were different: their cleruchies were a penalty and no concessions need have been made. But, whatever the Athenian motive, the land taken from the Andrians decreased the resources on which the tribute assessment was based, and a reduction in tribute should have followed. That this was the normal practice of Athens is suggested by her treatment of Chalcis. Chalcis revolted with the rest of Euboea in 446, and was crushed. Yet in the assessment period following the revolt the tribute was reduced from 5 to 3 talents—and for a very good reason: the Athenians had confiscated the land of the Hippobotae in the Lelantine plain.⁶⁴

Nesselhauf's explanation of the low assessment of Naxos is ingenious. Pointing to the low tribute of Thasos, which pays only 3 talents after its revolt, he suggests that Naxos may have

⁵⁵ Nesselhauf, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

⁵⁶ *G des A³* (1939), IV, 672.

⁵⁷ List 5, Col. IV, 35.

⁵⁸ List 7, Col. II, 2.

⁵⁹ Her., V, 28.

⁶⁰ Paus., I, 27, 5.

⁶¹ Diod., XI, 88, 3 (a lacuna in the text).

⁶² List 5, Col. IV, 34.

⁶³ List 8, Col. II, 36.

⁶⁴ Plut., *Pericles*, 23.

received similar treatment when the island was reduced. Athens confiscated the gold mine of Thasos: she may have seized some of the resources of Naxos and perhaps restored them on the occasion of the cleruchy. This is possible, admittedly, but once again the natural explanation is simpler and preferable, that Naxos had received compensation for her land. Moreover, Nesselhauf has not considered Euboea and Hestiaea seems to offer a clear parallel. Isolated cases carry no weight; the force of the argument lies in the accumulation of instances. We conclude that cleruchies were first established in 450 before the Peace of Callias had been made. But though they are designed to meet the disaffection of the late fifties, they may also anticipate the further disaffection that was likely to follow, for by the late summer of 450 the expedition had returned from Cyprus, and the decision to negotiate for peace had, no doubt, already been made.

Kolbe,⁶⁵ in his recent study of the beginnings of the Athenian empire, has drawn a sharp contrast between the periods before and after the Peace of Callias. He emphasises the argument of the Mytileneans at Olympia in 428⁶⁶: ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἑωρῶμεν αὐτοὺς τὴν μὲν τοῦ Μήδου ἔχθραν ἀνιέντας, τὴν δὲ τῶν συμμαχῶν δούλωσιν ἐπαγομένους, οὐκ ἄδεεῖς ἔτι ἦμεν—the subjection of the allies began only when war with Persia was over. He finds confirmation in a comparison between the oath of Erythrae, which preceded the peace, and the oaths of Colophon⁶⁷ and Chalcis which followed it: in the former loyalty is sworn to the allies as well as to the Athenians, in the last two only to Athens. He therefore rejects Schäfer's⁶⁸ view that Athens was already showing signs of imperialism in the sixties, and holds that the League retained its federal character down to the Peace. Imperialism begins in 449.

Such a view has little to commend it. Even if we could trust the arguments of the Mytileneans, who had a case to plead, their use of the present participle, ἀνιέντας need imply no more than a time when Athens seemed to be more interested in reducing allies than in fighting Persia, not necessarily a time when peace had actually been made. It is unwise to lay much stress on a comparison of oaths, for the Erythraean oath is the sole certain survivor from the period before the Peace of Callias, and the allies appear later in the oath imposed on the Samians following the crushing of their revolt in 439.⁶⁹ More serious, Kolbe's thesis is too schematic. It would have been difficult for Athens to take such decisive steps if the ground had not already been prepared. Imperialism began in the sixties, but was greatly accelerated, for reasons that we have analysed, in the fifties. During this period all the most important instruments of empire had been forged. Democracies had been encouraged and established, garrisons and political residents had been installed, the first cleruchs had already been settled on allies' land. The summoning of cases to Athens had at least begun, and the Great Panathenaea was becoming an empire festival. Whatever lip service was paid to the allies, real control rested with the council and people of Athens.

It was because these imperial instruments had been tested by experience that Athens was able to retain her hold when peace was made with Persia, and weather the severe crisis that followed. She owed her empire above all to the imperialists of the fifties, the most vigorous and resilient generation that Athens ever produced.

RUSSELL MEIGGS

APPENDIX

THE ERYTHRAE DECREES

IG i², 10. *Letter forms.* That Fauvel copied from the stone angular beta (β) and three-bar sigma (ς) is clear. That the cutter used the archaic form of phi, circular and with vertical enclosed in the circle (⊕), is a reasonable inference: the letter does not appear in any form in the text, but was read as theta (e.g., ll. 13, 20) and omicron (l. 25), an unnatural confusion if the vertical extended beyond the circle. No stress should be laid on the form

⁶⁵ *Hermes*, LXXIII, 1938, pp. 252 ff.

⁶⁶ *Thuc.*, III, 10.

⁶⁷ The Colophonian oath is only partly preserved, but in one clause the allies are certainly not mentioned: l. 12. καὶ οὐκ ἀποστ[έ]σονται ἀπὸ τοῦ δέμου τοῦ Ἀθηναιῶν οὔτε ἁλ[ο]γόοι οὔτ'

ἐργ[ο]ί . . . They are restored by Hondius (*op. cit.*, p. 9) in l. 11, but Kolbe (*op. cit.*, p. 257) is more probably right in eliminating them here also.

⁶⁸ *Hermes*, LXXI, 1936, pp. 129 ff.

⁶⁹ IG i², 50, l. 23.

of nu. If the Corpus represents the letter correctly, the straight verticals point to a date later than the sixties, but such fine distinctions cannot be drawn from the copy of a copy. Almost as uncertain, but more important, is the form of rho. The Corpus prints, with few exceptions, an angular rho with tail (ϱ). This is a rare form, and I have not been able to find an example from the late fifties or forties (the indications in the second edition of the Corpus are extremely unreliable on this point). We cannot, however, be certain that this represents even what Fauvel wrote, for the same letter form is printed in *IG* i², 28 (= *IG* i², 40) after l. 9, though the stone is well preserved and the form of rho is regular throughout, clearly rounded, with tail (ϱ). The rho of the lost decree then may similarly have been rounded; and though normally it had a tail, other forms may have occasionally appeared. ρ (rounded, without tail) is printed in l. 13, and again in ll. 39, 41, 43 (though here it is less certain that it represents rho). It is also noticeable that rho is copied as pi in l. 13 and as tau in l. 4: this may suggest the occasional use by the cutter of an alternative archaic form ρ. All these forms, if we exclude angular rho with tail, can be found after the middle of the fifties, though they are also quite consistent with a date in the sixties.

The form of rho is not perhaps sufficient alone to invalidate Highby's argument (pp. 4-6) that *IG* i², 12/13a is part of this decree. Only two rhos are preserved in that fragment, both angular without tail. This is not the normal form in the lost decree but it may represent an alternative form used by the cutter. If, however, we are right in believing that *IG* i², 11 and 12/13a come from the same stone, doubt is removed, for in the London fragment rho appears frequently and never has a tail. As this identification has not been proved, it is necessary to test Highby's second argument.

The length of line. *IG* i², 12/13a preserves part of an oath formula, which can be restored with reasonable certainty, giving a line of 47 letters: Highby has made his restorations of the lost decree conform to this length. This thesis should be tested where the copy is best preserved and restoration least hazardous, in the oath. The transcript of l. 20 runs:

OMNONA . . A . . ΔΕ . . . ΣΟΛΕΝ ΚΟΛΕΥΣΟ ΗΟΣΑΝ . . ΝΟ . ΝΑΙΣΤ . . . | . ΔΕΚΑ

Tod (p. 46) follows the Corpus, restoring Ομνυναι δε ταδε τον βολεν βολευσο ἵος αν δυνομαι αριστα (Corpus: αρισστα) κα | 1 δικαιοτατα.

Highby restores, at the beginning of the line, ομνυναι ταδε τον βολεν. This is necessary if the line is to be kept to 47 letters; but it does great violence to the copy. Three marked letter spaces are arbitrarily eliminated, at a point where Fauvel's copying is at its best. For his omission of δε Highby refers to the parallel introduction of an oath formula in the Chalcis decree (*IG* i², 39, l. 21), where the particle is not employed: κατα ταδε χαλκιδεας ομοσαι. We should perhaps press the parallel further and read here ομνυναι κατα ταδε τον βολεν. This keeps closer to the copy and is the normal formula in Attic inscriptions (cf. *IG* i², 14/5, l. 30, 17, l. 5, 50, ll. 20 and 25, 51, l. 11, 90, l. 16: an exception in 52, l. 21). In the next line (21) Highby, to preserve his assumed principle, reads αποσσεσσομαι, a doubtful expedient. Similarly in l. 25, where the margin of possible error in restoration is small, he has to assume that the cutter accidentally omitted the last three letters of φευγοντων. It is better to sacrifice the main assumption and reject a regular 47-letter line: the arrangement was probably not strictly stichedon.

Prescript. Highby restores [ἔδοχεν τει βολει και τοι δεμοι . . 11 . . . επρυτανευε | . . τ . .] επεστατε λ . . . 1 . . [εγραμματαυε . . 10 . . επτε], the terms of the decree beginning with the third line. This is formally possible, but contrary to all known usage. In preserved prescripts the γραμματέυς is always mentioned before, not after, the ἐπιστάτης. There is no room, however, here for the normal formula, and it is better perhaps to believe that the name of the γραμματέυς, omitted in the prescript, was inscribed at the head of the decree (cf. *IG* i², 39 (Chalcis); Tod, No. 42, with note). ἐπεσάται may have been followed by the name of the archon (cf. *IG* i², 19, 22), or of the proposer.

IG i², 11, and 12/13a. I cannot yet prove that these fragments come from the same stone, though my squeezes suggest the possibility of a common fracture. From the squeezes it is clear that the spacings, horizontal and vertical, correspond exactly. I see no serious difference in letter forms. Both fragments have the archaic phi (vertical enclosed in circle), angular beta, three-bar sigma, angular rho without tail: there are also more precise similarities. The horizontal strokes of epsilon tend to slope downwards; the diagonals of upsilon are slightly curved; the right stroke of mu is shorter than the left.

Nothing has been said of the local Erythraean inscription (Highby, pp. 36 ff.). It is probably from the middle of the fifth century, and may well have accompanied Athenian reorganisation; but until its date can be more firmly fixed and its content more securely established, it can, at best, only add hypothesis to hypothesis.

I am primarily indebted to the late Professor West and the authors of *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, whose brilliant and sustained work on the main documents has made this study possible. I owe a special debt to Professor Meritt and Professor Wade-Gery. Professor Meritt taught me to enjoy inscriptions. Professor Wade-Gery has been my most constant stimulus.

Mr. W. H. Plummer corrected the proofs. It was not an easy business; I am very grateful to him.

INTERSTATE JURIDICAL AGREEMENTS IN THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE

Thucydides i, 77: καὶ ἐλασσούμενοι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ξυμβολαίαις πρὸς τοὺς ξυμμάχους δίκαις καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις νόμοις ποιήσαντες τὰς κρίσεις φιλοδικεῖν δοκοῦμεν. καὶ οὐδεὶς σκοπεῖ αὐτῶν τοῖς καὶ ἄλλοθι που ἀρχὴν ἔχουσι, καὶ ἦσσαν ἡμῶν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους μετρίοις οὔσι, διότι τοῦτο οὐκ ὀνειδίζεται. βιάζεσθαι γὰρ οἷς ἂν ἐξῇ, δικάζεσθαι οὐδὲν προσδέονται. οἱ δὲ εἰθισμένοι πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ὀμιλεῖν, ἦν τι παρὰ τὸ μὴ οἶεσθαι χρῆναι ἢ γνώμη ἢ δυνάμει τῇ διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ὁπωσοῦν ἐλασσωθῶσιν, οὐ τοῦ πλέονος μὴ στερισκόμενοι χάριν ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐνδεοῦς χαλεπώτερον φέρουσιν ἢ εἰ ἀπὸ πρώτης ἀποθέμενοι τὸν νόμον φανερώς ἐπλεονεκτοῦμεν.

It has been said of this passage, 'The words of the Athenian orator in Thucydides i, 77: καὶ ἐλασσούμενοι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ξυμβολαίαις πρὸς τοὺς ξυμμάχους δίκαις . . . are a familiar puzzle, and any new attempt to discuss them is apt to excite a smile.'¹ The whole of the chapter in which they stand has received much attention from editors of Thucydides, and from those concerned with the judicial organisation of the Athenian Empire. The problems which present themselves are four in number: (a) the identity of the allies whose complaints are the subject of this passage; (b) the correct division, if division is necessary, of the sentence καὶ ἐλασσούμενοι . . . φιλοδικεῖν δοκοῦμεν; (c) the interpretation of the term αἱ ξυμβόλαιαι δίκαι; (d) the extent to which conclusions on a-c are borne out by other literary references and by the epigraphical evidence.

Of these problems, (a) and (b) may be associated together, and considered first. Classen² regarded καὶ ἐλασσούμενοι . . . καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς as a co-ordinating construction, and interpreted καὶ ἐλασσούμενοι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ξυμβολαίαις πρὸς τοὺς ξυμμάχους δίκαις as a description of the Athenian relations with the σύμμαχοι αὐτόνομοι, and καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις νόμοις . . . as an allusion to the ὑπῆκοοι or ὑποτελεῖς, the subject allies.³ Stahl⁴ rejected the co-ordinating function of καὶ . . . καὶ . . ., but likewise made a distinction between ἐλασσούμενοι . . . δίκαις, which he ascribed to all the allies, independent and subject alike, and παρ' ἡμῖν . . . τὰς κρίσεις, wherein he saw a reference to the subject allies only. Furthermore, both scholars separated αὐτοῖς from ἡμῖν, in order to supply an antecedent to the αὐτῶν of the sentence καὶ οὐδεὶς σκοπεῖ αὐτῶν. . . . A view substantially resembling that of Stahl was taken of the passage by George Grote, Lipsius, H. G. Robertson, and Bonner,⁵ and is best summed up in the words of the latter: 'There is a contrast and a comparison between litigation in the allied cities, involving Athenian citizens, and litigation in Athens involving the allies, rather than a differentiation between independent and subject allies. The antithesis is carried by ἐλασσούμενοι and ὁμοίοις. According to the provision of treaties and agreements known as σύμβολα, συμβολαί, or ξυμβολαί, which Athens had with her allies and subjects, a plaintiff sought redress for breach of contract in the home courts of the defendant. Consequently Athenians regularly appeared as plaintiffs in the courts of the allies. The words: ἐν ταῖς ξυμβολαίαις πρὸς τοὺς ξυμμάχους δίκαις refer to these suits. The allies, on the other hand, resorted to Athens for litigation, not only in accordance with the provisions of these treaties, but in many other cases as well. For Athens exercised a wide judicial jurisdiction over her allies as a suitable means of control. Thus cases of treason, suits regarding the tribute, and, in general, cases involving severe penalties were tried at Athens in accordance with

* I would here offer my thanks to Professor M. Carv, Professor J. E. Powell, and in particular to Professor F. E. Adcock, for most valuable assistance and criticisms.

¹ Goodwin, *AJP*, I (1880), 4.

² Edition of Thucydides (1862).

³ He further suggested that τὰ had dropped out between ἐν and ταῖς. In the later edition of Classen's Thucydides, Steup omitted all these points.

⁴ *De Sociorum Atheniensium Iudiciis Commentatio*: see Herbst.

⁵ *Thucydides, Erklärungen und Wiederherstellungen* (1892), 31; Morris, *AJP*, V (1884), 300 ff.

⁶ Grote, *History of Greece*, ed. 1888, IV, 526-8 and notes; Lipsius, Meier-Schomann, *Das attische Recht und Rechtsverfahren*, p. 972, note 18; Robertson, *University of Toronto Studies, History and Economics*, IV, 1 (1924); Bonner, *Classical Philology*, 14 (1919), pp. 284 ff.: cp. also, Morris, *AJP*, V, 298 ff.

Athenian laws. It is this litigation that the Athenian apologists have in mind when they say: καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις νόμοις ποιήσαντες τὰς κρίσεις.⁶

Other commentators—Goodwin, Jowett, Herbst, Forbes, and Marchant⁶—recognise that the passage in question referred only to the subject allies, as is clear from the use of the terms ἀρχή and ὑπήκοοι,⁷ and from the comparison drawn with other subject peoples. Of this last group, all, except Herbst, accepted the passage as it stands, rejecting Classen and Stahl's separation of αὐτοῖς from ἡμῖν, and supplying the antecedent of αὐτῶν in καὶ οὐδεὶς σκοπεῖ αὐτῶν . . . from the phrase ἐν ταῖς ξυμβολαίαις πρὸς τοὺς ξυμμάχους δίκαις.⁸

A careful study of the passage as a whole shows clearly that there is a continuity of thought in chapter 77, and that the subject allies, as champions of whom the Peloponnesians put themselves forward, alone are under discussion. It should be noted that in the καὶ . . . γὰρ construction, γὰρ is the connecting particle, while the καὶ goes closely with the following word (ἐλασσούμενοι), and must mean 'even,' like the καὶ of καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπικεικούς at the end of the preceding chapter.⁹ Thus the passage was understood by the scholiast, who, while commenting incorrectly on ἐλασσούμενοι: ἀδικούμενοι, ζημιούμενοι ἐν ταῖς συναλλαγματικαῖς χρεῖαις, adds: καθὼς ἐξ ἰσοτιμίας δικαζόμεθα πρὸς αὐτοὺς, καίτοι δυνάμενοι ὡς ἄρχοντες ἔχειν τὸ πλεόν.¹⁰

In accordance, therefore, with idiom and general sense καὶ ἐλασσούμενοι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ξυμβολαίαις πρὸς τοὺς ξυμμάχους δίκαις is to be taken in close connexion with καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις νόμοις ποιήσαντες τὰς κρίσεις (the καὶ of καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς being a connecting 'and,' explanatory of ἐλασσούμενοι,¹¹) and not to be separated to form a distinct category. In interpreting the class of lawsuit here mentioned we may take into consideration a further general statement of the speaker. He says later in the same chapter: οἱ δὲ εἰθισμένοι πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ὁμιλεῖν, ἦν τι παρὰ τὸ μὴ οἶεσθαι χρῆναι ἢ γνώμη ἢ δυνάμει τῇ διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ὀπωσοῦν ἐλασσωθῶσιν, οὐ τοῦ πλέονος μὴ στερισκόμενοι χάριν ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐνδεοῦς χαλεπώτερον φέρουσιν ἢ εἰ ἀπὸ πρώτης ἀποθέμενοι τὸν νόμον φανερώς ἐπλεονεκτοῦμεν.¹² In view of the close continuity of thought, the conclusion must be that the subject allies suffered some restriction of their rights in connexion with the judgement of lawsuits—a restriction from their standpoint, when compared with their previous position, but a limitation also, in the eyes of Athens, of the powers she might have exercised as mistress of an empire. In short, what are αἱ ξυμβόλαιαι πρὸς τοὺς ξυμμάχους δίκαι?

This phrase seems to exclude the possibility of a reference to certain grave charges, which appear to have been tried at Athens.¹³ In *IG* I² 10, the decree on the affairs of the Erythraeans,¹⁴ death, or exile with confiscation of property, was appointed as the penalty for murder, and the institution of the same punishment for treason and 'betrayal of the state to the tyrants' may possibly be deduced from this exceedingly fragmentary inscription. As far as the inscription goes, no provision seems to have been made for the reference of such cases to Athens, but the

⁶ Goodwin, *JP*, I (1880), 16; Jowett, *Translation of Thucydides*, ed. 1881, notes p. 49. Herbst, *Zu Thukydides*, p. 31; Forbes, ed. of Thucydides, Book I, 1895; Marchant, ed. of Thucydides, Book I, 1905.

⁷ On the position of the allies at the founding of the Delian League, cp. Thuc., I, 97: I, 96 (some provided money contributions, and some provided ships): for the later position, cp. Thuc., III, 10, 5: the allies are called δούλοι, except Lesbos and Chios, which are autonomous; so, too, in Thuc., VI, 85, 2: καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἐκεῖ ξυμμάχους ὡς ἑκαστοι χρήσιμοι ἐξηγουμένα, Χίους μὲν καὶ Μηθυμναίους νεῶν παρεκωχῆ αὐτονόμους, τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς χρημάτων βιαιότερον φορᾶ.

. . . On the other hand, in VII, 57, 4, Thucydides calls all members of the Empire ὑπήκοοι (period of the Syracusan Expedition), and distinguishes between ναυσὶν ὑπήκοοι and φόρῳ ὑπήκοοι, Methymna being ναυσὶν ὑπήκοος. The φόρῳ ὑπήκοοι he also calls φόρου ὑποτελεῖς and ὑποτελεῖς. Among the ὑπήκοοι and φόρου ὑποτελεῖς are named Eretria, Chalcis, Styra, Carystus, Ceos, Andros, Tenos: from Ionia, Miletus, Samos and Chios. He continues: τούτων Χίοι οὐχ ὑποτελεῖς ὄντες φόρου, ναὺς δὲ παρέχοντες αὐτόνομοι ξυνεσποντο. But the passage is possibly corrupt; αὐτονόμοι here is rejected by Stahl and Fraenkel. Boeckh, *Staatshaushaltung d. Athen.*, II (3),

91, and note 635.

⁸ Herbst, *op. cit.*, pp. 30 ff., while recognising that the subject allies are referred to, objected to ἐλασσούμενοι being applied to the Athenians, when later in the passage the same term is applied to the allies. In the clause . . . ἦν τι παρὰ τὸ μὴ οἶεσθαι χρῆναι ἢ γνώμη ἢ δυνάμει τῇ διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ὀπωσοῦν ἐλασσωθῶσιν. . . . So he preferred to read ἐλασσούμενοις, thus supplying an antecedent to αὐτῶν.

⁹ Cp. Denniston, *Greek Particles*, pp. 108, 110.

¹⁰ *Scholia ad Thucydidem*, ed. Hude (Teubner), pp. 62-3.

¹¹ For the sense of ἐλασσούμενοι, cp. Dem., LVI, 14: ἀλλ' ἡγούμενοι δεῖν ἐλαττοῦσθαι τοὺς καὶ συγχωρεῖν ὥστε μὴ δοκεῖν φιλόδοκοι εἶναι. . . . and Bonner, *Classical Philology*, 14 (1919), pp. 284-6.

¹² γνώμη, with meaning 'motion,' 'resolution,' as in *IG* I², 10.

¹³ A reference to such is seen by Lipsius, Bonner and Robertson (cp. note 5 above), in Thucydides I, 77, 1, in the phrase: ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις νόμοις ποιήσαντες τὰς κρίσεις. . . .

¹⁴ Date, circa 470-460 B.C.: see Tod, *Hist. Gr. Inscr.*, p. 48; Highby, *The Erythraean Inscription, Klio*, Beiheft XXXVI; Schaefer, *Hermes*, LXXI (1936), 129 ff.

text is very uncertain and broken at this point. On the other hand, in lines 26–8, in the oath of the newly constituted Boule, there seems to be some mention of the possible expulsion of certain political offenders, which is not to take place [ἀ]ν[ευ] τῆς [γνῶ]μες τῆς Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῷ [δ]έμο . . . (γνώμη restored from line 26).¹⁵ But again the restorations are too extensive and uncertain to warrant any conclusions. In *IG I²*, 39¹⁶ an appendix is added to the main body of the decree¹⁷ providing that the Chalcidians shall retain the administration of internal discipline (εὐθυναί¹⁸), except in capital offences, in which ἔφεσις is to take place to the Heliaea at Athens, presided over by the Thesmothetae.¹⁹ The meaning of ἔφεσις here is uncertain. In Aristotle, *Αθ. πολ.*, 9, 1; 45, 2; 45, 3; 53, 6; 55, 2, it seems generally to mean ‘appeal’,²⁰ and so, too, in Demosthenes *LVII* 6 (cp. Pollux *VIII*, 62–3). The penalties of death and confiscation of property were imposed for treason against Athens and the League (cp. *IG I²*, 10), and a possible mention of these may exist in *IG I²*, 22 (Miletus), with provision for appeal or reference of the case to Athens.²¹ Charges of treason were brought against wealthy members of the allied states,²² and probably the νησιωτικὸς κλητήρ of Aristophanes²³ engaged in such.²⁴ Athenaeus remarks²⁵ . . . καθ’ ὃν δὲ χρόνον θαλασσοκρατοῦντες Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνήγον εἰς ἄστὺ τὰς νησιωτικὰς δίκας γραψάμενός τις καὶ τὸν Ἡγήμονα δίκην ἤγαγεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας . . . and relates the story how the actor was saved by Alcibiades. The circumstances and the phraseology used seem to indicate that it was a public action (γραφή).²⁶ Isocrates²⁷ mentions that among the charges brought against the Athenians, in their imperial administration, occur: καὶ τὰς δίκας καὶ τὰς κρίσεις τὰς ἐνθάδε γιγνομένας τοῖς συμμάχοις καὶ τὴν τῶν φόρων εἰσπραξίν . . . Boeckh, in the light of para. 66 of the same speech: τίς ἐστὶν οὕτως ἀφυῆς, ὅστις οὐχ εὐρήσει πρὸς τοῦτ’ ἀντειπεῖν ὅτι πλείους Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀκρίτους ἀπεκτόνασι τῶν παρ’ ἡμῖν, ἐξ οὗ τὴν πόλιν οἰκοῦμεν, εἰς ἀγῶνα καὶ κρίσιν καταστάντων; concludes that the reference in para. 63 is to capital cases; but Fraenkel²⁸ pointed out that the point of comparison is the number of those slain by the Spartans with the number of those brought to trial by the Athenians. Finally it may be noted that the defendant in Antiphon’s *de Caede Herodis* (V) is made to remark (para. 47): ὁ οὐδὲ πόλει ξξέστιν, ἄνευ Ἀθηναίων οὐδένα θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι, and the action is itself a case in point, though a preliminary investigation seems to have taken place in Lesbos.²⁹ It would seem, then, that trials for murder and treason took place at Athens,³⁰ and that ἔφεσις in *IG I²*, 39, means ‘reference’ rather than ‘appeal.’ This is the interpretation generally given to (*Xen.*), *Αθ. πολ.*, I, 16–18³¹: δοκεῖ δὲ . . . καὶ ἐν τῷδε κακῶς βουλευέσθαι ὅτι τοὺς συμμάχους ἀναγκάζουσι πλεῖν ἐπὶ δίκας Ἀθήναζε . . ., and the purpose was thought to be political, as appears from *id.*, I, 16, 9: εἰ δὲ οἵκοι εἶχον ἕκαστοι τὰς δίκας, ἅτε ἀχθόμενοι Ἀθηναίοις τοὺτους ἂν σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀπώλλυσαν οἵτινες φίλοι μάλιστα ἦσαν Ἀθηναίων τῷ δήμῳ . . .,³² but in view of the clause (I, 18, 6): ὅτι δεῖ μὲν

¹⁵ Highby, who has worked out the στοιχηδὸν arrangement of the inscription, would read [ἀ]ν[ευ] τῆς [βολῆς] τῆς . . . *Klio*, Beiheft XXXVI, 25–6.

¹⁶ The decree embodies two resolutions: (a) the oaths guaranteeing the rights of Chalcis, and the allegiance of the Chalcidians, and (b) the regulation of certain details in the affairs of Chalcis after the revolt of 446 B.C.

¹⁷ Tod, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

¹⁸ For a definition of εὐθυναί, cp. Plato, *Protagoras*, 326d: ὡς δὲ καὶ ἡ πόλις νομοὺς ὑπογράφασα, ἀγαθῶν καὶ παλαιῶν νομοθετῶν εὐρήματα, κατὰ τοὺτους ἀναγκάζει καὶ ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι, ὅς δ’ ἂν ἐκτος βραῖνῃ τούτων, κολάζει καὶ δνομα τῇ κολάζει ταύτῃ καὶ παρ’ ὑμῖν καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοῖ, ὡς εὐθύνουσης τῆς δίκης, εὐθύναι.

¹⁹ *IG I²*, 39, 71–6.

²⁰ In 45, 3; 53, 6; 55, 2, it might mean ‘reference’ or ‘commission for trial.’

²¹ But the inscription is very fragmentary. See below.

²² Cp. Aristophanes, *Pax*, 639 f.: τῶν δὲ συμμαχῶν ἔσειον τοὺς παχεῖς καὶ πλουσίους, αἰτίας ἂν προσπιπνέτες, ὡς φρονεῖ τὰ βραχέϊον.

²³ Aristophanes, *Aves*, 1421 ff.

²⁴ Note here that no question arises of trial in the allied state, with subsequent appeal to Athens: cp. *Aes*,

1454 ff.: ὡς ἂν τοὺς ξένους | καλεσάμενος κῆτ’ ἐγκεκληκῶς ἐνθάδ’ | κατ’ αὐτὸ πέτωμαι πάλιν ἐκείσε. ΠΙ. μανθάνω | ὡδὲ λέγεις ὅπως ἂν ὠφλήκη δίκην | ἐνθάδε πρὶν ἤκειν ὁ ξένος. ΣΥ. πάνυ μανθάνεις. ΠΙ. κάπειθ’ ὁ μὲν πλεῖ δεῦρο, σὺ δ’ ἐκείσ’ αὐτὸ πέτει, ἀρπασόμενος τὰ χρήματ’ αὐτοῦ.

²⁵ IX, 407b.

²⁶ Boeckh, *Staatshaushaltung d. Athen.*, I ‘3’, p. 478 and note c.

²⁷ XII, 63; perhaps on the basis of the passage (*Thuc.* I, 77, 1) under discussion.

²⁸ Boeckh, *op. cit.*, II ‘3’, note 639.

²⁹ Antiphon V, 29.

³⁰ Cp. the terms of the oath in *IG I²*, 39, 4–10: οὐκ ἐχσελὸ Χαλκιδεὺς ἐχ Χαλκιδος οὐδὲ τὴν πόλιν ἀναστατον ποίσο οὐδὲ ἰδιόθεν οὐδένα ἀτιμῶσο οὐδὲ φυγῆς ζειμῶσο οὐδὲ χυλλεφρομαι οὐδὲ ἀποκτενῶ οὐδὲ χρεματα ἀφαιρεῖ | σομαι ἀκριτο οὐδένοσ ἀνευ τῷ δέμο τῷ Ἀθηναίων.

³¹ The work belongs to the period between 430 B.C. and 424 B.C. Gelzer *Die Schrift von Staate der Athenen* dates it to mid-429 B.C.: Kalinka possibly to 425 B.C.

³² Cp. *id.*, I, 14: περὶ δὲ τῶν συμμαχῶν—ὅτι ἐκπλέοντες συκοφαντοῦσιν, ὡς δοκοῦσι, καὶ μισοῦσι τοὺς χρηστῶς,—γινώσκοντες ὅτι μισεσθαι μὲν ἀνάγκη τὸν ἄρχοντα ὑπο τοῦ ἀρχομένου, εἰ δὲ ἰσχύουσιν οἱ πλούσιοι καὶ οἱ ἰσχυροὶ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὀλίγιστον

ἀφικόμενον Ἀθήναζε δίκην δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν . . ., it is uncertain whether such grave charges were the only ones the writer had in mind.³³

Despite the criticisms of Cobet,³⁴ commentators continue to read *συμβόλαιαι δίκαι*,³⁵ but derive *συμβόλαιος* from either *συμβόλαιον* or *συμβολή*. Grote, Classen, Boeckh, Gilbert and Marchant regarded *συμβόλαιαι δίκαι* as lawsuits resulting from *συμβόλαια*—‘*Geschäftsverträge*’ or ‘*Commercial Contracts*’.³⁶ Jowett, Forbes, Lipsius, Goodwin and others³⁷ give the derivation from *συμβολαί* (in the fourth century: *σύμβολα*).³⁸

The usual interpretation of *συμβόλαιον* is ‘a commercial contract,’ and the use of the term in the fourth century in speeches on private suits,³⁹ to denote a contract regarding a mercantile loan, has largely influenced the manner in which the word is generally understood when it occurs in a fifth-century context (in *IG* I², 16 and 116). On the other hand, the term *συμβόλαιον*, denoting a legal relationship, can have a much wider sense; cp. Dem. XXXIII, 3: *συμβόλαιον ἔγγειον*, and Dem. XXVII, 27, where it signifies a ‘business agreement,’ in this case the mortgage of a body of slaves; a group of Lysias’ speeches were entitled ‘*λόγοι τῶν συμβολαίων*,’ one of which was a speech against Aeschines the Socratic in an action for debt; ⁴⁰ in Isaeus (IV, 12) wills are covered by the term *συμβόλαια*; to quote a later example, the word is used in the same sense of a legal relation (civil) in a treaty between Miletus and Olbia.⁴¹ This wide general meaning is clear in the philosophers also ⁴²; cp. Aristotle, *Pol.*, III, 1, 7 (1275b): καὶ τὰς δίκας δικάζουσι κατὰ μέρος, οἷον ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι τὰς τῶν συμβολαίων δικάζει τῶν ἐφόρων ἄλλος ἄλλας, οἱ δὲ γέροντες τὰς φονικάς, ἑτέρα δ’ ἴσως ἀρχὴ τις ἑτέρας. Here a wide range of cases is clearly comprehended in the term *συμβόλαια*, and Sussemihl is correct in translating it as ‘*Civilsachen*,’ so, too, in Plato, *Leges*, 913a, 922a, 956b, *συμβόλαια* are the ‘agreements’ (*obligationes*) which form the basis of everyday life and intercourse; cp. 956b: ὅτε δὲ μέρη διείρηται τῆς πόλεως συμπάσης, ὅσα τε καὶ ἃ δεῖ γίνεσθαι, καὶ νόμοι περὶ τῶν συμβολαίων εἰς δύναμιν τῶν μεγίστων περὶ πάντων εἰρηνται, τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ δίκας ἂν εἴη χρεῶν γίνεσθαι.⁴³ Hesychius defines *συμβόλαιον* as, among other things, a *συνάλλαγμα*, signifying an ‘association.’⁴⁴

χρόνον ἢ ἀρχὴ ἔσται τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, διὰ ταῦτα εὖ τοὺς μὲν χρηστοὺς ἀτιμοῦσι καὶ χρήματα ἀφαιροῦνται καὶ ἐξελαύνονται καὶ ἀποκτείνονται, τοὺς δὲ πονηροὺς αὖθις οὖν.

³³ It seems unlikely that the *πρωταεῖα*, harbour-tax, and hire of houses, beasts of burden and slaves would be mentioned, even by a biased writer, as considerable sources of income, if cases involving murder and treason alone were referred to Athens.

³⁴ Cobet, *Nouv. Lect.*, p. 167, makes up his mind that *συμβόλαιαι δίκαι* signify αἱ κατὰ συμβολὰς δίκαι or αἱ ἀπὸ συμβολῶν δίκαι, and condemns the form *συμβόλαιος*. He says, ‘Non bene graece appellari τὰς κατὰ ξύμβολα δίκας vel τὰς ἀπὸ ξύμβολων δίκας, quas dici manifestum est. Nempe ξύμβολαιος adiectivum est quod respuit graecitatis et ratio et usus. Ἐμβόλιμος graecum est et ἐκβόλιμος et ὑποβολιμαῖος: ἐμβολαῖος, etc., graeca non sunt.’ He regards Hesychius as preserving the correct reading in his gloss: *ξύμβολιμαῖος δίκας* Ἀττικοὶ τὰς κατὰ ξύμβολα, ‘ubi nemo dubitavit emendare: τὰς κατὰ συμβολ[α]ς, collato Harpocratore, s.v. ξύμβολα, et multis oratorum locis,’ and emends the text of Thuc. I, 77, 1 to: ἐν ταῖς ξύμβολιμαῖαις πρὸς τοὺς ξύμμάχους δίκαις. Hesychius, however, also gives s.v. ξύμβολαιας δίκας τὰς κατὰ ξύμβολαιον (emended by Albertus-Schmidt to ξύμβολα[ι]ον). Of this gloss Cobet says, ‘non tamen heri aut nudius tertius natus error est, qui nostros codices omnes obsidet: apud ipsum H. depravata scriptura conspicitur v. ξύμβολαιας δίκας. Qui locus non emendandus sed cum contemptu abiiciendus est, quemadmodum sexcenties apud Hesychium eadem glossa alibi integra et incorrupta legitur, alibi vitiosa et depravata.’

³⁵ Note that in the present article *συμβολή* and *συμβολαί* are used in reference to the fifth century, and the forms *σύμβολον* and *σύμβολα* in fourth-century connections.

³⁶ Grote, *History of Greece*, ed. 1888, IV, 526–8; Classen ed. of Thucydides, rev. Steup, 1897; Boeckh, *Staatshandlung d. Athen.*, I (3), 476 f., and note b; Gilbert, *Handbuch*

d. griech. Staatsaltertumer, I (2), 487 ff.; Marchant, ed. of Thucydides I (1905).

³⁷ Jowett, *Trans. of Thucydides*, ed. 1881, p. 49; Forbes, ed. of Thucydides, I (1895), 67; Lipsius, Meier-Schoemann, *Das Attische Recht und Rechtsverfahren*, p. 972; Goodwin, *AJP*, I (1880), 4. Cp. Morris, *AJP*, V (1888), 298 ff.; H. G. Robertson, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

³⁸ For the general principles of *σύμβολα*, see Kahrstedt, P-W., *Realenc.*, IV, 1 (II series), coll. 1088–90; Lipsius, *op. cit.*, pp. 965 ff.; Kahrstedt, *Staatsgebiet und Staatsangehörige in Athen*, passim; Hitzig, *Allg. Staatsverträge über Rechtshilfe*, passim; Busolt-Swoboda, *Griech. Staatskunde*, II, 1241, 5; 1244, 1. For general principles of *σύμβολα* in the ancient authorities, cp. Aristotle, *Pol.*, III, 1, 3 (1275a); 5, 10–11 (1280a); *Rhet.*, I, 4, 4 (1360a); (Andocides) IV, 18; Harpocrator, s.v. *σύμβολα*. For the manner in which they were made, cp. Aristotle, *Ἀθ. πολ.*, I, 6; (Dem.) VII, 9 ff. For the πόλις ἐκκλητος in relation to *σύμβολα*, see *IG* XII, 7, 67; *Etyim. Magnum*, pp. 322, 42. See P-W., *Realenc.*, loc. cit., for *σύμβολα* between independent states at various periods, and for such between Athens and independent states; cp. *IG* I², 113; II², 1, 46 and 207. *IG* II², 1, 141 does not afford an example of *σύμβολα* in this sense.

³⁹ Dem. XXXIII, 2; XXXIV, 31; XXXII, 1.

⁴⁰ Athenaeus, XIII, 93 (611d).

⁴¹ Dittenberger, *Syll.* (3), 286, 10: ἐάν δέ τι συμβόλαιον ἢ τῷ Μιλησίῳ ἐν Ὀλβίᾳ . . .; cp. *IG* XII, 5, 1065, 8 (Carthaea): διακρίναι καὶ διαλύσαι τὰ συμβόλαια (early third century): for the same phrase, cp. Aristotle, *Pol.*, III, 1, 10 (1276a): τὰ συμβόλαια διαλύειν, where, however, *συμβόλαιον* is a ‘contract.’

⁴² Goodwin, *AJP*, I (1880), 14 ff.

⁴³ Cp. Beseler, *Συμβόλαιον*, *Zeitschrift d. Savigny-Stiftung f. Rechtsgeschichte*, 50 (Rom. Abteilung), 441–2.

⁴⁴ For a discussion of *συνάλλαγμα* as the equivalent of the Latin ‘*obligationes*,’ therefore comprehending not only

In the decree (*IG* I², 16), which deals with legal relations between Athenians and citizens of Phaselis, the term *συμβόλαιον* is used. The text, date and general significance of the decree will be discussed later, here lines 5–11 alone concern us. They read thus: *ὅτι ἂν μέ[ν] Ἀθ[ή]νησι ξ[υ]μβό[λ]αιον γένηται [πρὸς Φ]ασηλιτ[ῶ]ν τινα, Ἀθ[ή]νη[σ]ι δὲ δίκας γίγνεσθαι παρ[ὶ] τῷ πο[λ]εμάρχῳ καθάπερ Χ[ί]οις, καὶ ἄλλοις μὴδὲ ἄμῳ.* The text adopted is that of *IG* I, editio minor; Koehler (*Hermes* VII, 161 and *IG* II, 11) restored: *ἀν[α]γράφαι, ὃ τι ἄμμε[ν] Ἀθ[ή]νησι . . .*, followed by Roberts-Gardner (*Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, II, No. 30) and Photiades (*Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1922, p. 64); Tod (*Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 32) accepts the alternative restoration: *Ἀθ[ή]νη[σ]ι τὰς δίκας . . .* in place of *Ἀθ[ή]νη[σ]ι δὲ δίκας . . .*; the restoration *καθάπερ Χ[ί]οις . . .* (Sauppe, in *IG* II, 11 and *IG* I², 16) will be discussed later. In the event of a *συμβόλαιον* existing at Athens between an Athenian and a Phaselite, law-suits arising from such an association are to be tried at Athens in a court presided over by the polemarch. Here *συμβόλαιον* is generally understood to mean a 'commercial agreement,' with the further implication that it is a mercantile agreement. Emphasis is laid in each of the two clauses on *Ἀθήνησι*, and the conclusion reached that when a mercantile agreement was made at Athens between an Athenian and a Phaselite, law-suits arising from it were, in every case, to be tried at Athens. The explanation given for this regulation is that Athens sought thus to protect her position as the centre of money-lending business, in case foreign merchants attempted to avoid their contractual obligations by unlawful means. Such an explanation is based on the fourth-century law concerning *ἐμπορικὰ δίκαι*; in the fourth century a close supervision of foreign merchants was vitally necessary to Athens, since she depended on them to such a great extent for her corn supply, but in the preceding century her sea power and her position of dominance rendered such a regulation unnecessary. It is indeed a fact that in the fifth century special officials existed to deal with the affairs of overseas merchants, but they existed for the benefit of the merchants themselves, not to protect Athenian banking interests. These officials were the *ναυτοδίκαι*,⁴⁵ and it is strange that the polemarch, and not this body of officials, should be mentioned here as the competent magistrate, if *συμβόλαιον* is to be understood as a 'commercial agreement.' It seems better to place the emphasis in the clause: *Ἀθήνησι τὰς δίκας γίγνεσθαι παρὰ τῷ πολεμάρχῳ . . .* on *πολεμάρχῳ* rather than on *Ἀθήνησι*. In the fourth century the polemarch was in charge of the introduction of private suits which concerned metics, proxenoi and *ἰσοτελεῖς*, to the appropriate judicial body—i.e., to the tribal judges (*δικασταὶ κατὰ δῆμους*)—who in turn referred the case to the *δαιτηταί*. In the event of an appeal of either party from the decision of the *δαιτηταί* to the court (*τὸ δικαστήριον*), the *δαιτηταί* handed over the case, together with the relevant documents, to the tribal judges of the defendant's tribe, and they introduced it to the court.⁴⁶ Aristotle calls such suits *δίκαι* . . . *ἴδια μὲν αἱ τε τοῖς μετοίκοις καὶ τοῖς ἰσοτελέσι καὶ τοῖς προξένοις γιγνόμεναι . . .*, a phrase which makes it uncertain whether the metics, etc., were plaintiffs or defendants. It would be natural to suppose that when an Athenian and a foreigner (metic) went to law, if the metic was defendant, the case would be assigned by lot by the polemarch to one of the ten groups of tribal *δικασταί*, while if the citizen was defendant, the

'business agreements' (*συναλλάγματα ἐκούσια*), i.e., '*obligationes ex contractu*,' giving rise to *δίκαι πρὸς τινα* ('*actiones ex contractu*'), but also 'torts' (*obligationes ex delicto*'), the Greek equivalent of which are *συναλλάγματα ἀκούσια*, producing *δίκαι κατὰ τινος* (*actiones ex delicto*), see Lee, in *CQ*, XXXI (1937), 131.

⁴⁵ Their jurisdiction over merchants is referred to in a speech of Lysias (XVII, of 398–397 B.C.) in connection with events which took place at the end of the fifth century. The lexicographers Photius, Suidas and Bekker (*Anecd. Graec.*, I, p. 283, 3) mention them as concerned with merchants (*ἐμποροί*) and the port of Athens. They are named also in an inscription, *IG* I², 41, of a date not long after 446–5 B.C., though their competence in this case is not clear. They must have originated at an early date, when *ἐμπορος* and *ναύτης* were not distinguished apart:

Schwahn (P-W., *Realenc.*, s.v. *Nautodikai*, coll. 2061–2) suggests the period of Solon, since the latter's legislation took cognisance of mercantile associations. Their original functions must have been connected with mercantile affairs. It should be noted that Hesychius (s.v.) mentions, in addition to their mercantile functions, that they had charge of actions against aliens for unlawful assumption of citizenship, and Harpocration mentions only this function. But Korte (*Hermes*, LVIII (1933), 238 ff.; and the evidence there cited) has shown convincingly that this duty was assigned to them probably after 443 B.C., while before that time the *ξενοδίκαι* had charge of such actions against aliens [*γραφῶν ξενίας*].

⁴⁶ Aristotle, *Ἀθ. πολ.*, 53, 3: *παραδίδοσσι τοῖς δ' τοῖς τὴν φυλὴν τοῦ φεύγοντος δικάζουσιν.*

case would automatically be assigned to the *δικασταὶ κατὰ δῆμους* of his tribe, without the intervention of the polemarch; in other words, the standing of the defendant would decide whether the polemarch initiated the case or not. This seems to follow from Aristotle, *Ἀθ. πολ.*, 53, 3, where it is stated that appeals from the decision of the *δικοιτηταί* were referred to the tribal *δικασταί* of the defendant's tribe. Actually, however, the polemarch introduced cases concerning a metic not only as plaintiff (*e.g.*, Dem. XXXII, 29), but also as defendant (*e.g.*, Lysias XXIII, 2). Thus in the fourth century the polemarch had full charge in initiating private suits in which resident aliens, *proxenoi* and *ισοτελεῖς* were concerned.⁴⁷

It seems that the polemarch exercised similar functions in the fifth century, in regard to certain categories of foreigners. A number of inscriptions record decrees granting honours to various benefactors of the Athenian state. Among the rights afforded them was legal redress for wrongs inflicted by citizens of Athens, or of the states of the Empire.⁴⁸ In the earlier examples⁴⁹ of these decrees the polemarch is named as the competent official to introduce to the courts cases involving the recipients of these privileges. The decrees in question refer to the foreigner thus privileged only as plaintiff, but there is little doubt that when a case arose in which he figured as defendant, the polemarch had charge of it in such circumstances also. It would appear, then, that the present decree secured for Phaselites at Athens the right of having private suits, in which they were concerned, supervised by the polemarch. Therefore, in view of the fact that this magistrate, in the fifth century, had charge of suits covering a much wider province than just 'commercial agreements,' in the case of *proxenoi* and those who received equal honours with the latter, and that in the fourth century he introduced to the courts all cases in which metics, *proxenoi* and *ισοτελεῖς* were concerned (except two limited categories), it may be concluded that in the Phaselis inscription *συμβόλαιον* must have a wider significance than it is generally understood to possess.

An attempt has here been made to show that *συμβόλαιον* is, in civil matters, the legal relation out of which could arise law-suits covering more or less the same province as *δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβολῶν*. It is the equivalent of the Latin '*obligatio*,' and as the latter could give rise to '*actiones ex contractu*' and to '*actiones ex delicto*,' so, too, the Greek equivalents of these, '*δίκαι πρὸς τινα*' and '*δίκαι κατὰ τινος*,' respectively, are both included in *δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβολῶν*.⁵⁰ Therefore, in interpreting *συμβόλαιος* in the phrase *αἱ συμβολαῖαι δίκαι* it is unnecessary to make a laborious distinction between *συμβόλαιον* and *συμβολαί*.

Three references in the lexicographers associate *σύμβολα* with the subject allies of Athens. (i) Hesychius, *s.v.* ἀπὸ συμβόλων δικάζειν: ἐδίκαζον Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ συμβόλων τοῖς ὑπηκόοις καὶ τοῦτο ἦν χαλεπὸν. (ii) Pollux (ed. Bethe), *Onom.* VIII, 63, ἐμπορικαὶ δὲ [καὶ] ἐμμηνοί, αἱ τῶν ἐμπόρων ἢ τῶν περὶ τὸ ἐμπόριον ἀπὸ συμβόλων δ' ὅτε οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐδίκαζοντο.⁵¹ (iii) Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, p. 436 ('from a writer of unknown but certainly late date' (Jowett)); *s.v.* ἀπὸ συμβόλων δικάζει: Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ συμβόλων ἐδίκαζον τοῖς ὑπηκόοις οὕτως Ἀριστοτέλης. These references have occasioned a good deal of discussion at various times, but it is doubtful whether much independent value can be assigned to them. The gloss of Hesychius, particularly in view of the remark 'καὶ τοῦτο ἦν χαλεπὸν,' is almost certainly based on Thucydides I, 77, 1.⁵² The reference of the writer in Bekker's *Anecdota*

⁴⁷ Except *δίκαι μεταλλικαί* and *ἐμπορικαί*, of which the *Thesmothetae* had charge.

⁴⁸ The provisions fall into two classes: (a) against *ἀδικία* IG I², 28, 55, 56, 106a, 110, 113, 118, 150, 152, 153) and b. against violence (*βίαιος θάνατος*) (IG I², 143, 154, 72). That the distinction is a real one is shown by IG I², 28 and 56, where both are mentioned: and the nature of the *ἀδικία* as a civil wrong, is clear from IG I², 28: [- δικάζειν δὲ, εἰαν τις τιν]α τούτων ἀδικεῖ, Ἀθηνεῖσι πρὸς τὸν πολ[ε]μαρχον, πρυτ[αν]εῖα με κατατίθεντας πλ[η]ν πέντε δραχμ[ῶν] τὸν ὑπὲρ χιλίας δίκων. . . . (The restoration seems well established.)

⁴⁹ In some of these inscriptions the person is commended to the protection of the *Boule*, *Prytaneis* and *Strategoι*, but these seem to belong to a period in or after 430 B.C. (IG I², 56 (430 B.C.?); 106 (411-408 B.C.); 106a of same

period as 106); 110 (410-409 B.C.); 113 (c. 410 B.C.); 118 (408-407 B.C.); 150 (uncertain)), as far as the evidence goes. The examples in which the polemarch is named are IG I², 28 (before 446-445 B.C.); 55 (about 431 B.C.); 153 (before 430 B.C.); and 152 (of uncertain date, but possibly c. 446-445 (442-441) B.C., since the proposer, Democleides, bears the same name as the proposer of the Brea cleruchy decree (IG I², 45, line 43).

⁵⁰ See note 44.

⁵¹ Bethe reads *ἐμπορικαὶ δὲ* (δίκαι) *ἐμμηνοί* for the older *ἐμπορικαὶ δὲ καὶ ἐμμηνοί*. He also suggests ἀπὸ συμβόλων δ' ἐστὶν ὅτε οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐδίκαζοντο.

⁵² See Cobet, *Novae Lectiones*, pp. 167-8, for the connection of Thucydides and Hesychius.

looks like a repetition of Hesychius; 'οὕτως Ἀριστοτέλης' cannot refer to Aristotle, Ἀθ. πολ., 59, 6, because in that passage Aristotle refers to his own period, and to σύμβολα between Athens and independent states; subject allies had ceased to exist in 338 B.C., even if they existed in the Second Athenian League. The whole looks like a contamination of Aristotle and Thucydides, both at second hand. The first part of Pollux' gloss: ἐμπορικαὶ δὲ [καὶ] ἔμμηνοι . . . ἐμπόριον, must be drawn from Aristotle, Ἀθ. πολ., 59, 5 (on the functions of the thesmothetae), and fourth-century speeches on mercantile cases. The second part: ἀπὸ συμβόλων δὲ . . . ἐδικάζοντο, follows naturally as far as a mention of the σύμβολα are concerned, because Aristotle, in that passage, goes on to mention the functions of the thesmothetae in connexion with σύμβολα. The reference to the subject allies is probably due to a confusion of Aristotle with Thucydides. Little more can be drawn from all three than that Thucydides I, 77, 1, was understood to refer to the subject allies.

The epigraphical evidence which we possess, belonging to the fifth century, affords the only really trustworthy evidence for ξυμβολαί between Athens and her allies. Ξυμβολαί⁵³ are mentioned in *IG* I², 16 (Phaselis); *IG* I², 60 (Mitylene); *IG* I², 116 (Selymbria); *IG* I², 136,⁵⁴ and *IG* II², 1, 1 (Samos). It can be restored with certainty in *IG* I², 133.⁵⁵ Associated with the term ξυμβολαί is the phrase⁵⁶: δίκας διδόναι καὶ δέχεσθαι . . ., as in *IG* II², 1, 1; restored in *IG* I², 60 (Lesbos), and 133,⁵⁷ and possibly to be restored in *IG* I², 136.⁵⁸

It happens that decrees are preserved mentioning ξυμβολαί between Athens and three independent members of the Athenian Empire—Chios (implicit in *IG* I², 16), Mitylene (*IG* I², 60), and Samos (*IG* II², 1, 1).⁵⁹

The Phaselis decree, which contains the reference to the Chians, is in many respects the most important of these inscriptions, and merits close study. Serious problems of date, text and interpretation are associated with it. The decree was first published by Koehler⁶⁰; emendations were proposed by Sauppe,⁶¹ Dittenberger,⁶² and Bannier⁶³; a new examination of the original stone seems to have been effected for the *IG*, editio minor (ed. Hiller von Gaertingen), and another by Photiades,⁶⁴ who is followed in some details by Tod.⁶⁵ Wilhelm⁶⁶ made fresh proposals as to its date, and suggested certain emendations. Since its discovery use has been made of this inscription by practically all writers on the economic history of Athens, and on the Athenian judicial system in the period of the Empire. Therefore no apology is needed for a somewhat lengthy treatment of it here.

Koehler, the first editor of the inscription, dated it between the battle of Cnidus (394 B.C.) and the 'King's Peace' (386 B.C.), Judeich⁶⁷ to 388 B.C.; both writers based their dating on the Ionic forms, and on certain historical events.⁶⁸ Wilhelm⁶⁹ showed that the Ionic forms were natural in an inscription to be set up in Phaselis, where the Ionic dialect was in use, and assigned the decree to the fifth century. The Phaselites, who had at first resisted Cimon, were brought over to the Athenian side by the Chians (with whom they were closely associated), a short time before the battle of the Eurymedon.⁷⁰ Meyer⁷¹ therefore assigned the decree

⁵³ In the fifth century, ξυμβολή, ξυμβολαί, in the fourth century, σύμβολον, σύμβολα. ξύμβολον and ξύμβολα are incorrect forms.

⁵⁴ It is unknown whether it refers to an allied state or not.

⁵⁵ *IG* I², 136: [- - κ]ατὰ τὰς χσυμβολάς - - -]; *IG* I², 133: [- - - - δίκας διδόντας καὶ] δεχομένο[ς] κατὰ τὰς χσυμβολάς, καὶ ἔσαν προτὸ ἀνανεομένης καὶ ἡμέρ - - -].

⁵⁶ As in συμβολα with independent states: e.g., *IG* I², 113 (c. 410 B.C.); *IG* II², 1, 207 (c. 349-348 B.C.).

⁵⁷ Bannier ascribes this example to an allied state, which, after revolt, had returned to its allegiance (*Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1917, 1342).

⁵⁸ Possibly also in *IG* I², 90 (treaty with the Bottiaeans, 422-421-416-415 B.C.): [- - - διδόντ]ο[ς] δὲ τὰς δι[κ]ας (lines 3-4), but here the δίκαι may have some connexion with the assessment of tribute; cp. lines 1-2: [- - τὰς τὰ] χσες ἐν[α] - - - / or, alternatively, πραχσες. The same phrase occurs in the proclamation of a truce on the occasion of the Eleusinian festival (*IG* I², 6 before 460 B.C.):

those who participate have to undertake: δ[ι]κας δι[δ]όναι καὶ δέχεσθαι.

⁵⁹ After the failure of the revolt in 439 B.C. the Samian fleet was surrendered, and the fortifications dismantled, but no tribute was imposed.

⁶⁰ *Hermes*, VII (1872), 161; *IG* II, 11.

⁶¹ In *IG* II, 11.

⁶² *Sylloge* 121, 72, followed by Roberts-Gardner. *Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, II, 76-8.

⁶³ *Ber. Phil. Woch.*, 1917, coll. 91 and 1342.

⁶⁴ *Εφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1922, pp. 62 ff.

⁶⁵ *Gr. Hist. Inscr.*, No. 32.

⁶⁶ *GC*, 1898, 204-205.

⁶⁷ *Kleinasiatische Studien*, p. 98, note 1.

⁶⁸ So Hicks, *Greek Hist. Inscriptions* 121, 36 (363-362 B.C.); Michel, *Recueil*, 6 (fourth century).

⁶⁹ *GC*, 1898, 204-5.

⁷⁰ Plutarch, *Cimon*, 12 (486a-b).

⁷¹ *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*, II, 5-6.

to the period immediately following the battle (467 or 465 B.C.), but it has been pointed out that 'it is not a treaty of alliance such as was made after Eurymedon, but a juridical treaty which might have been made at any time.' P. Haggard ⁷² regards its formula as indicating a date after 462 B.C.; S. Luria ⁷³ dates the form of the prescript to the period between 486/6 and 421 B.C. These wide limits are reduced by Oliver ⁷⁴ to the period between 451 and 449 B.C., on the ground that the name, Leon, borne by the proposer of the Phaselis decree, should also be read in the same position in the text of a treaty between Athens and Hermione, which is to be dated on historical grounds in the period 451-449 B.C. A date *circa* 450 B.C. is accepted by Tod.

The inscription itself is much damaged and worn (see photograph in 'Εφ. Ἀρχ., 1922, p. 63), and its defective text has been subjected to restorations which vary considerably. The editors are in substantial agreement on the text of the early part of the decree (lines 1-11), the subject-matter of which has already been dealt with in connexion with the term *συμβόλαιον*. It may be noted here that the restoration in lines 10-11, καθάπερ Χί[οις] . . . (Sauppe), has found general acceptance, except from Bannier,⁷⁵ who would read: καθάπερ χ[ρέως] . . ., an unconvincing substitute. The next section, lines 11-14, introduces a major problem of restoration: τῶ[ν δ' ἄλλοι] ἀπὸ συμβολῶν κατ[ὰ τὰς ὅσας] συμβολὰς πρὸς Φα[σηλίτας] τὰς δίκας ἐν[α]ί: is the text of *IG* I², 16; Koehler at first restored: κατ[ὰ τὰς πρὶν] συμβολὰς . . . (*Hermes* VII, 161), but in *IG* II, 11 he accepted Sauppe's restoration κατ[ὰ τὰς Χίων] συμβολὰς. . . . The natural objection to κατὰ τὰς Χίων συμβολὰς, meaning κατὰ τὰς πρὸς Χίους συμβολὰς . . ., is that no other example of the use of the genitive in this sense can be found; moreover, as Bannier pointed out, the restoration Χίων makes it seem that συμβολαί between Chios and Phaselis, and not between Athens and Phaselis, are referred to. Ultimately the acceptance or rejection of the alternatives κατ[ὰ τὰς Χίων] συμβολὰς or Bannier's κατ[ὰ τὰς ὅσας] συμβολὰς ⁷⁶ rest on the interpretation of the whole decree—*i.e.*, whether it is regarded as the original decree establishing συμβολαί, or a later modification of such already established.⁷⁷ In lines 14-15 it appears that only τὰς | . . . το. ἀφελέν can be distinguished on the stone. This was restored in *IG* II, 11, by Dittenberger, as τὰς|[δὲ ἐκκλή]το[ς] ἀφελέν, which has been accepted doubtfully by most editors,⁷⁸ but not by Lipsius. No other restoration has been proposed, and in view of the small number of surviving letters, it would perhaps be best to treat it as a '*locus insanabilis*.' *IG* II, 11 adopts the punctuation: . . . τὰς δίκας ἐναι, τὰς [δὲ ἐκκλή]το[ς] ἀφελέν, whereby ἀφελέν is made to refer to the following clauses, which seems to make additional difficulties. If the gap is to be restored thus, it seems better to punctuate as *IG* I², 16: . . . δίκας ἐναι. τὰς [δὲ ἐκκλή]το[ς] ἀφελέν. Again in lines 15-21 the text requires extensive restoration. Koehler ⁷⁹ restored as follows: ἐ[άν] δὲ τ[ῶν ἀλλαχο]ῦ [ἀρ]χ[ω]ν δ[έ]ξ[η]ται[ι] δ[ίκην] κατὰ Φασηλιτῶν τ[ι]νος, [τοῦτον μὴ τίν]ειν καταδίκας|[ἀλλ' ἢ μὲν δίκη ἄκυρος] ἔστω. ἐ[άν] δὲ ἐκβῆναι δ[οκ]ῇ τὰ ἐψη|[φισμένα] . . . κτλ.; Dittenberger ⁸⁰ in place of [τοῦτον . . . ἀλλ' ἢ . . .] restored [τοῦτο δ' ὀφείλ]ειν καταδικασ[θῇ]. The later text, in *IG* I², 16 reads: ἐάν δὲ τ[ις] κατ' ἄστ]υ ἄρχων δέξεται δ[ίκην] κατὰ Φασηλιτῶν τινος|[παρόντος, εἰ] μὲν καταδικάσ[ει, ἢ καταδίκη] ἄκυρος ἔστω. ἐ[άν] δὲ τις παραβ[ῇ] α[ἰ]νῇ τὰ ἐψηφισμένα. . . . These restorations are accepted by Tod, except that he reads παρὰ τόδε (after Photiades), instead of Kirchner's παρόντος. Comparing Koehler's restoration of the part after Φασηλιτῶν τινος, with that of Dittenberger, the latter appears preferable, because . . . τοῦτο δ' ὀφείλειν καταδικασθῇ provides a connecting link in the legal procedure between the acceptance of the case by the magistrate, and the negation of the

⁷² *Proc. Amer. Phil. Assoc.*, LVII, xxxi ff.

⁷³ *Hermes* LXII, 275.

⁷⁴ *Hesperia* II, p. 494, No. 12.

⁷⁵ *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1917, col. 91.

⁷⁶ *Id.*, col. 91, on the analogy of *IG* II², 1, 1.

⁷⁷ Minor divergences of reading are *a*, Stahl's: κατ[ὰ τὰς αὐτὰς] συμβολὰς; and *b*, τῶ[ν δὲ ἄλλων] ἀπὸ συμβολῶν (*IG* II, 11 and Bannier); it appears uncertain whether the

Iota can be read on the stone; *IG* I², 16 gives it as legible on the inscription, Photiades, 1922, p. 65 restores ἀλλοι, within brackets.

⁷⁸ Roberts-Gardner, Tod, Photiades.

⁷⁹ *Hermes* VII (1872), 159, and *IG*, II, 11.

⁸⁰ Followed by Roberts-Gardner, *Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, Vol. II, No. 30, pp. 77-8.

legality of the decision (ἡ μὲν δίκη ἄκυρος ἔστω), which is lacking in Koehler's restoration; on the other hand, it must be admitted that we should expect ταύτην δ' ὀφείλει καταδικασθῆ. In *IG* I², 16, the restoration εἰ μὲν καταδικάσει, having the same subject as the preceding clause, seems attractive, but the objection arises whether καταδικάζειν can be used of the function of a magistrate, who normally introduced a case to the appropriate court. Still more important is the restoration of lines 15–16, where earlier editors (Koehler and Dittenberger) read: τ[ῶν ἀλλαχο]ῦ ἄρχων . . ., in which τῶν ἀλλαχοῦ is understood to refer to ξυμβόλαια existing elsewhere than at Athens; and the whole clause is regarded as a sanction to secure the observance of lines 11–14: τῶν δ' ἄλλοθι ἀπὸ ξυμβολῶν κ[ατὰ τὰς ὁσας] ξυμβολὰς πρὸς Φα[σηλίτας] τὰς δίκας ἔναι. There are, however, two objections to ἀλλαχοῦ: (i) it is not good Greek (see Liddell and Scott), and in any case ἄλλοθι has previously been used; and (ii) a letter is present on the stone before the α of ἄρχων, generally read as υ, whereas we should expect ἀλλαχοῦ to appear as ἀλλαχῶ, in the same way that ἀμοῦ (line 11) appears as ἀμῶ, and βουλή as βολή. For this reason Wilhelm suggested τ[ῆς κατ' ἄστ]υ ἄρχων,⁸¹ which, however, presents another difficulty. The term ἄστυ is generally used of the city as opposed to the country,⁸² and of Athens in contrast to Phaleron and the Piraeus.⁸³ Thus a distinction would be implied between a court at Athens, and another at the Piraeus or in the country. Of such a court, which might have jurisdiction over foreigners, we know nothing; for while state officials such as the ἀγορανόμοι, ἄστυνόμοι, μετρονόμοι, σιτοφύλακες and ἐπιμεληταὶ τοῦ ἐμπορίου, are mentioned by Aristotle⁸⁴ as exercising their functions at the Piraeus, we hear of no court held there to judge offences detected by these officials, nor do we know that the polemarch held a special court there. Photiades⁸⁵ points out that, despite the statement (of Roberts-Gardner, *op. cit.*, II, 77) that 'the upper part of the Y is clear on the stone,' in reality only a diagonal stroke can be distinguished, which could well belong to a N. Consequently he reads . . . ἐάν δέ τ[ῆς ἄλλῃ τῶν] ἄρχων . . . in which the term αἱ ἀρχαί has the same meaning of 'the magistrates,' as in several other documents. This restoration disposes of the difficulties produced by ἀλλαχοῦ and ἄστυ. In line 20: ἐάν δέ τις παραβ[ῇ] τ[ῇ]ν . . . is preferable to ἐ[άν δέ ἐκβῇ]ναι] δ[ιοκ]ῆ. . . .

So much for the text of the decree. It seems certain that the inscription under consideration does not record the decree establishing ξυμβολαί for the first time between Athens and Phaselis. The phrase (lines 11–12): κατ[ὰ τὰς ὁσας] ξυμβολὰς⁸⁶ can refer only to ξυμβολαί previously existing; the similar phrase in *IG* II², 1. 1, line 19, referring to ξυμβολαί established between Athens and Samos, shows that this must be so. The original ξυμβολαί may have been made at the time when Phaselis transferred her allegiance to Athens; the present decree is a re-affirmation of such.⁸⁷

The first provision in the decree, that law-suits arising from ξυμβόλαια existing at Athens between Athenians and Phaselites, were to be tried in that city before the polemarch, has been considered already, and reasons put forward for believing that ξυμβόλαιον here has a much wider meaning than 'commercial agreement.' It has been shown that the term denotes the legal relation forming the basis of all civil actions—i.e., an 'obligation' or 'convention.' In the interpretation of this clause, emphasis should be laid not on Ἀθήνησι, but on πολέμαρχω, and it seems likely that ἄλλοθι μηδὲ ἀμῶ does not mean 'in no other place (than Athens),'⁸⁸ but rather 'in no other court.' This view is confirmed if the one restoration free of objection is adopted in line 15: ἐάν δέ τις ἄλλῃ τῶν ἄρχων . . . whereby actions between Phaselites and Athenians are excluded from the jurisdiction of 'any other magistrate' (than the polemarch).⁸⁹ Thus, as we have seen, Phaselites temporarily resident at Athens, or visiting the city, received

⁸¹ *GG*A, 1898, p. 204, 'dubitante.'

⁸² Plato, *Rep.*, 327b; 328c; *IG* I², 905.

⁸³ Plato, *Symp.*, 172a; *Dem.*, XX, 12; Aristotle, *Pol.*, 1303b 12; Lycurgus in *Leocrat.*, 18.

⁸⁴ *Ἀθ. πολ.*, 50–1.

⁸⁵ *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1922, p. 65.

⁸⁶ The restoration which has been shown to be preferable to κατ[ὰ τὰς Χίων] ξυμβολὰς.

⁸⁷ Oliver (*Hesperia* II, 491) suggests that 'the equality of treatment for Phaselites and Chians had perhaps been assumed from the beginning, and was later definitely formulated in a treaty, because of some violation of the previous agreement by the Athenians.'

⁸⁸ Which is the significance of ἄλλοθι in line 12.

⁸⁹ See below for the possible significance of κατὰ.

the rights accorded to certain other privileged foreigners—the same rights which were granted to all metics in the fourth century. Herein they were placed on the same footing as the Chians, who were among the most important of the independent allies. This equality of status with an independent ally is not altogether surprising. Phaselis itself was important as a centre of trade in the fifth century, and occupied a position on a strategic trade route,⁹⁰ and though the city appears consistently in the tribute lists,⁹¹ its position on the boundaries of the Athenian Empire gave it considerable independence. Furthermore, Phaselis was closely connected with Chios.⁹²

The first clause is not to be regarded as a regulation additional to and modifying the conditions contained in the previously established *ξυμβολαί*, but rather as a re-affirmation on the part of the Athenians of the arrangements which had been instituted at Athens for the trial of *δίκαι ἀπὸ ξυμβολῶν*. The following lines: *τῶν δ' ἄλλοθι (ξυμβολαίων) ἀπὸ ξυμβολῶν κατὰ τὰς ὅσας ξυμβολὰς πρὸς Φασηλίτας τὰς δίκας ἔναι*,⁹³ apply to *ξυμβόλαια* existing elsewhere—i.e., at Phaselis or in some other state—which were to be subject to the provisions set out in the original *ξυμβολαί*. These provisions are not repeated here (e.g., the competent magistrates at Phaselis are not named) because they did not affect the legal machinery of Athens herself, with which the decree is concerned. It may be objected that the interpretation of *ξυμβόλαιον* as a commercial agreement affords a much simpler explanation; for in that case the clause under consideration means that law-suits arising from a contract made at Athens were to be tried in the latter city, while those arising from a contract made elsewhere were to be tried on the basis of *ξυμβολαί*—i.e., in the state of the defendant.⁹⁴ This interpretation has, indeed, the virtue of simplicity, but, as we have seen, the necessity for such a regulation in the period of the Empire is not apparent, and it leaves unexplained the jurisdiction of the polemarch.⁹⁵

It seems best to regard the decree as made up of four clauses: (a) concerning actions at Athens; (b) concerning actions elsewhere; (c) the reference to whatever is signified by *τὰς δὲ ἐκκλήτος ἀφελῆν*; (d) *ἐὰν δέ τις ἄλλη τῶν ἀρχῶν . . . κτλ.* The penalty, for the non-observance of the decree generally, appears in line 20: *ἐὰν δέ τις παραβαίνη τὰ ἐψηφισμένα . . .* It is better to divide the decree thus into four distinct clauses, than to attempt to connect *ἐὰν δέ τις ἄλλη τῶν ἀρχῶν . . .* closely with *τὰς δὲ ἐκκλήτος ἀφελῆν*. In the latter clause, *τὰς δὲ ἐκκλήτος*, if the restoration is accepted, must mean *τὰς δὲ ἐκκλήτος δίκας*, forming the object of the verb *ἀφελῆν*. A subject for the verb can be understood, but an expressed object is necessary; in any case, if *τὰς δὲ ἐκκλήτος* is taken as the subject of *ἀφελῆν*, it can mean only *τὰς δὲ ἐκκλήτος πόλεις*, which is not usual in the plural. The clause must signify the abolition⁹⁶ of *δίκαι ἐκκλητοί*, cases subject to appeal from the decisions of one court to another in a foreign state. The *Etymologicum Magnum* (322, 43) gives the information that this right of appeal to a foreign court in *δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων* was allowed to a foreigner only, not to a citizen. Therefore the Phaselites, as foreigners, lost an advantage by the abolition of this right. This interpretation, however, depends on the correctness of the restoration. In the following clause, what-

⁹⁰ Thucydides II, 69.

⁹¹ Tod 30 (454–453 B.C. : 38 (449–448 B.C.)) : 46 (443–442 B.C.) : 56 (433–432 B.C.) : 66 (425–424 B.C.).

⁹² Plutarch, *Cimon*, p. 12. Oliver (*Hesperia*, II, 494 ff.) considers that 'It becomes altogether likely that the treaty is another example of the changes then (c. 450 B.C., after the return of Cimon from exile) effected in Athens' foreign policy by the party of Cimon. Phaselis was treated more favourably when Cimon returned to power, for as we may see from the tribute list, *IG I²*, 195, its assessment was reduced by one half in 450–449 B.C.'

⁹³ Note that *πρὸς Φασηλίτας* goes with *ξυμβολὰς*, not with *τὰς δίκας*.

⁹⁴ The theory that *δίκαι ἀπὸ ξυμβολῶν* were tried in the state of the defendant is based on Dem. VII, 13, and Dittenberger, *O.G.I.* p. 437 (treaty between Ephesus and Sardis, of the second or first century B.C.). For various reasons the evidence of Dem. VII, 13, does not appear very trustworthy. It seems more logical to suppose that

δίκαι ἀπὸ ξυμβολῶν were tried in the courts of the state where the circumstances giving rise to them existed. In that case the first provision of the Phaselis decree is not an exception, as it is commonly believed to be, to the general rule of *ξυμβολαί*. I hope to treat this subject more fully elsewhere.

⁹⁵ If *ξυμβόλαια* were commercial contracts, cases arising from them were the equivalent of the *ἐμπορικαὶ δίκαι* of the fourth century, which were in the charge of the *θεσμοθέται*, whose counterpart in the fifth century were the *ναυτοδίκαι*, not the polemarch. It appears that the *ναυτοδίκαι*, like the *θεσμοθέται* in the fourth century, acted as presiding magistrates in the trial of commercial cases. It may be objected, therefore, that the polemarch's functions in the Phaselis decree were confined to introducing the cases to the *ναυτοδίκαι*. This explanation, however, is excluded by the use of *παρά* and the dative case, which in every case (see L. & S.) is a legal context seems to refer to a presiding judge.

⁹⁶ The only possible meaning of *ἀφαιρῆν* is 'to abolish.'

ever else may be adopted in the way of restoration, the preposition κατά followed by the genitive case Φασηλιτῶν τινος appears certain. On the two occasions in fifth-century Attic inscriptions where this preposition and the genitive are used⁹⁷ in expressing action against an offender, a fine or more serious punishment is envisaged. It is therefore remarkable that κατά, and not πρὸς, is used in this clause of *IG I²*, 16, in forbidding 'any other magistrate' to accept a suit against a Phaselite. It would perhaps be unwise to emphasise the specialised use of this preposition here, but the possible implication is worthy of consideration. It has already been pointed out that ξυμβόλαιον is the equivalent of συνάλλαγμα the Latin '*obligatio*.'⁹⁸ Συνάλλαγμα are to be divided into two categories, ἐκούσια and ἀκούσια,⁹⁹ which in turn give rise to δίκαι πρὸς τινά (*actiones ex contractu*) and δίκαι κατά τινος (*actiones ex delicto*) respectively. The latter correspond to our actions in tort; in Greek law they included δίκαι βλάβης, ἐξούλης, ψευδομαρτυριῶν, λιπομαρτυρίου. It appears to have been the practice at Athens, as we know from the private speeches of Demosthenes, for the loser in a δίκη πρὸς τινά (*actio ex contractu*) to retaliate with another action, a δίκη κατά τινος (*actio ex delicto*), often a δίκη ψευδομαρτυριῶν, against the successful party in the previous action, or against one of his supporters.¹⁰⁰ If the defendant in such an action was found guilty, he was liable to a fine, and to distraint on his property in case of non-payment. It may therefore be suggested that in the decree under consideration it was not only forbidden for a magistrate other than the polemarch to accept a case against a Phaselite, but special emphasis was laid on actions in tort, which Athenians might be tempted to use irregularly against a foreigner. Consequently, while Phaselites were deprived of appeal to the court of a foreign state, they received additional protection against vexatious litigation.

Such seem to have been the provisions contained in ξυμβολαί established between Athens and Phaselis, and it is reasonable to assume that ξυμβολαί between Athens and Chios embodied much the same conditions.

The decree *IG I²*, 60 deals with the establishment of Athenian cleruchs in Lesbos in 427 B.C., after the revolt of the island (with the exception of Methymna) in 428 B.C.,¹⁰¹ and with the answer to an embassy sent by the Mitylenaeans in connection with problems which had arisen between them and the Athenian cleruchs. Lines 8 ff. read: [. . . δίκας διδόν[τας] πρὸς Ἀθην[αίος καὶ δεχομένο]ς κατὰ τὸς χυ[μβολ]άς, αἱ ἐσα[ν] πρὸς Μυτιληναίο]ς. Disputes¹⁰² were to be settled according to the ξυμβολαί previously existing between Mytilene and Athens. As the Athenians would be present in Lesbos,¹⁰³ the regulation that disputes were to be tried in the state of the defendant would not apply,¹⁰⁴ but the provisions for trials in Mytilene, formerly contained in the ξυμβολαί, would still remain in force. It seems better to read (in line 8): πρὸς Ἀθην[αίος καὶ δεχομένος κατὰ . . .], thus restoring the common phrase, rather than πρὸς Ἀθην[αίων τὸς ἐπισκόπος κατὰ . . .],¹⁰⁵ in view of αὐτο[νό]μους,¹⁰⁶ and the fact that tribute was not imposed.¹⁰⁷

It seems necessary at this point to mention a much-discussed passage of Antiphon, *de caede Herodis* (V), 78, which has been associated with the inscription considered immediately above. In this passage the accused, in a case of homicide, is speaking of his father's experiences as a citizen of Mytilene,^{107 bis} in and after the revolt of 428 B.C. He says: εἰ δ' ἐν Αἴνῳ

⁹⁷ *IG I²*, 10, 10; 39, 10.

⁹⁸ Note that one of Hesychius' definitions of συμβόλαιον is συνάλλαγμα.

⁹⁹ Cp. Aristotle, *Eth. Nik.*, V, 2, 1131a 2; Vinogradoff, *Hist. jurisprudence*, II, 46 ff.

¹⁰⁰ Cp. Dem. XXIX, XLV, XLVII; or alternatively, as in Dem. XXXII, one party might take the initiative with a δίκη ἐξούλης.

¹⁰¹ The connection of the inscription with the events recorded in Thuc. III, 50 seems clear from the mention of κλη[ρο]ύχοις in line 10 of the inscription.

¹⁰² The disputes concerned movable property on the land occupied by the cleruchs.

¹⁰³ See Tod, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

¹⁰⁴ If indeed this condition ever existed. See above,

note 94.

¹⁰⁵ Restored by Dittenberger (see Forbes, *op. cit.*, p. 128 of notes) on the analogy of the extraordinary officials (ἐπίσκοποι) appointed by Athens temporarily at Erythrae (*IG I²*, 10, 12; 11, 4) and at Miletus (*IG I²*, 22, though they are not certainly such there, and are not called ἐπίσκοποι), and on the basis of Aristophanes, *Aves*, 1023, and Harpocration, s.v., ἐπίσκοποι.

¹⁰⁶ Tod, *op. cit.*, No. 63, line 11; and *IG I²*, Addenda, No. 60.

¹⁰⁷ Thuc. III, 50. It is worth noting that Bannier (*BPh*, 1917, 1343) would restore: κατὰ τὸς ξυμβολάς, αἱ ἐσαν, νῦν ἀναστανεωμέναι, or ἐπαναστανεωμέναι, instead of πρὸς Μυτιληναίους.

^{107 bis} Without the evidence of paragraph 78 the speaker (the son of the person mentioned in this passage) might

χωροφιλεῖ, τοῦτο <ποιεῖ> οὐκ ἀποστερῶν γε τῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἑαυτὸν οὐδενὸς οὐδ' ἑτέρας πόλεως πολίτης γεγεννημένος, ὥσπερ ἑτέρους ὁρῶ τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὴν ἡπειρον ἰόντας καὶ οἰκοῦντας ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις τοῖς ὑμετέροις καὶ δίκας ἀπὸ ξυμβολῶν ὑμῖν δικαζομένους, οὐδὲ φεύγων τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ὑμέτερον, τοὺς δ' οἷους ὑμεῖς μισῶν συκοφάντας. <ποιεῖ> post τοῦτο addidit Reiske. ἀλλ' pro τοῦτο ci. Reiske. οὐδέ: ὁ δέ (sic) A pr. καὶ: τοὺς post ἰόντας addidit Blass, mutato καὶ quod sequebatur in δέ. τοὺς δέ inserebat Reiske post ὑμετέροις. Plura deesse ratus A. Fraenkel, de condic. soc., 49, ci.: τοὺς δ' εἰς πόλιν ξυμμαχίδα διοικιζομένους. Similiter ci. Wilamowitz: τοὺς δέ εἰς τινὰ τῶν πόλεων μετοικήσαντας.

Concerning this passage Forbes¹⁰⁸ remarks: 'The obvious inference is that no ξυμβολαί were in force between Athens and Mytilene—a direct contradiction to the inference from the inscription relating to Mytilene.' Such an inference cannot, with certainty, be drawn from the passage; but apart from this point, there are other considerable difficulties, which are (a) the identity of the ἡπειρος (which is mentioned also in paragraph 52, in terms which would indicate that it was outside the judicial authority of Mytilene) and the πολέμοι, and (b) the strangeness of the existence of ξυμβολαί between Athens and an enemy state. Breunig¹⁰⁹ shows convincingly that the ἡπειρος is the mainland of Asia Minor, where there were Lesbian possessions (Antandros, etc.),¹¹⁰ which were seized by exiles from Lesbos after the revolt of 428 B.C., and remained in their possession until 424 B.C.¹¹¹; this explains πολέμοι also, but ξυμβολαί could not have existed between them and Athens. Furthermore, πολέμοι cannot be explained away convincingly either as an exaggerated rhetorical description of a mere 'foreigner,'¹¹² or as a reference to the constantly changing sides in the Peloponnesian War. Consequently Blass' insertion of τοὺς after ἰόντας, and alteration of the following καὶ to δέ, do not help matters; Reiske's τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὴν ἡπειρον ἰόντας καὶ οἰκοῦντας ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις . . . τοὺς δέ καὶ δίκας ἀπὸ ξυμβολῶν . . ., is better, but the question occurs, why is it a fault on the part of those less virtuous than the speaker's father, that they bring δίκαι ἀπὸ ξυμβολῶν against Athenians; and what does οὐδὲ φεύγων τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ὑμέτερον mean, and what is its connexion in the place where it occurs? The difficulties presented by the interpretation of the passage, with or without the emendations mentioned, seem inexplicable, and indeed no generally acceptable solution has been offered.^{112 bis} A study of the speech as a whole will reveal a good

have been thought to be a citizen of either Mytilene or Athens, such is the vagueness of expression throughout the whole speech. The writer of the Hypothesis to the speech believed him to be a native of Mytilene (though his opinion can be of little value, seeing that he says the voyage mentioned in the speech was from Athens to Aenus, though it is expressly stated in the text that it was from Mytilene to Aenus). On the other hand, it is quite clear from paragraphs 76–77 that the father was a citizen of Mytilene, and therefore the πόλις mentioned in paragraph 78 must be the same as the πόλις of 76–77—i.e., Mytilene.

¹⁰⁸ Ed. of Thucydides I, 130 of notes.

¹⁰⁹ *CQ*, XXXI, 69–70.

¹¹⁰ Thuc., III, 50, 3.

¹¹¹ Thuc., IV, 52, 3. Note ἡπειρος in 52, 2.

^{112 bis} The writer would suggest (with some diffidence, since he can find few willing to accept his view) that the ξυμβολαί have been associated, by a corruption in the text, with the wrong party. After the revolt of 428 B.C. was crushed, we are to understand, the speaker's father stayed for a time in Mytilene (77), but eventually considered it expedient to withdraw to Aenus, fearing, perhaps, that he might fall under suspicion of disloyalty to Athens, if he stayed in Lesbos, and become the victim of informers on account of his wealth (cp. Breunig, *CQ*, XXXI, 68). The speaker is at pains to show that his father's departure was prompted by no feelings, on his own part, of ill-will to Athens, and by no desire to cut himself off from relations with that city. Therein he contrasts his father's behaviour with that of other individuals, who also did not see fit to remain in Lesbos. Accepting the manuscript text for the time being, we may translate from οὐδ' ἑτέρας πόλεως . . .: 'and he has not become a citizen of another state, in the

way that I see others betaking themselves to the mainland, and dwelling among your enemies, and engaging in litigation with you on the basis of interstate judicial treaties (ξυμβολαί).' It is clear that the speaker sets the litigation ἀπὸ ξυμβολῶν of these persons, on a par with their defection, whether as metics or citizens, to the enemies of Athens, and adduces both as proofs of their disloyalty. This, in itself, is as strange as the combination, in the unemended text, of πολέμοι and ξυμβολαί, even if we allow for rhetorical exaggeration.

As far as the emendations are concerned, Blass, by inserting τοὺς after ἰόντας and altering the following καὶ to δέ, supplies thus a co-ordinate to the phrase τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὴν ἡπειρον ἰόντας, but separates ἡπειρος from πολέμοι, which is unnecessary according to Breunig's explanation, and fails to get rid of the combination of πολέμοι and ξυμβολαί. Reiske's insertion of τοὺς δέ after ὑμετέροις, like the longer additions of Fraenkel and Wilamowitz, succeeds in removing this difficulty, but leaves the reason for the mention of δίκαι ἀπὸ ξυμβολῶν undiscovered. If the mention of these suits is held to refer to the other individuals who left Lesbos, the question remains why they were discredited for resorting to ξυμβολαί in the settlement of their law-suits, since presumably ξυμβολαί were made to be used, and in any case it is absurd to set such conduct side by side with making common cause with the enemies of Athens. Furthermore, why does the speaker say of his father immediately afterwards: οὐδὲ φεύγων τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ὑμέτερον, a phrase which is used elsewhere in this speech on two occasions in a judicial sense (paragraphs 8 and 80)?

The general sense of the passage seems to be that the speaker's father did not try, by residing in Aenus, to sever his association with the Athenians, as the others had done

deal of laxity and obscurity of expression, and much irrelevance,¹¹³ which casts doubt on the value of this particular passage. In any case, even assuming that Forbes' 'inference' is correct, the inscription must take prior place as evidence for the existence of *ξυμβολαί* between Athens and Mytilene.

The third case of *ξυμβολαί* between Athens and an independent ally¹¹⁴ is given in *IG* II² 1, 1, and belongs to the year 405 B.C. The decree records the grant of citizenship and autonomy¹¹⁵ to the people of Samos, who alone remained faithful to Athens after the battle of Aigospotamoi, and among other provisions it confirmed the *ξυμβολαί* previously existing between Athens and Samos: καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, ἃ ἄγ γίγνηται πρὸς ἀλλήλους, διδόναι καὶ δέχεσθαι τὰς δίκας κατὰ τὰς συμβολὰς τὰς ὅσας (lines 18–19). The *ξυμβολαί* here mentioned must have been of the type affording complete reciprocity of legal rights between the two states, otherwise they would not have been appropriate to the autonomous position of the Samians.

Thus it appears that the independent allies possessed *ξυμβολαί* with Athens on a basis of complete equality in the settlement of suits between an Athenian and a member of the state in question. The problem remains whether *ξυμβολαί* with subject allies more completely under the control of Athens concerned the same interstate juridical relations, and whether they were established on the same basis of equality.

It appears from *IG* I², 116, that this was not so. The decree in question deals with the regulation of public affairs at Selymbria after its capture by Alcibiades in 409 B.C.,¹¹⁶ and among its provisions was the settlement of debts outstanding in the city on the part of the state or its citizens (lines 8–12): δίκας δὲ ἔναι περὶ ὧν ὄφ[ε]λε τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Ση[λυμβριανὸν] ἢ ἰδιοτῶν τι[ς] Σελυνβ[ρ]ιανῶν τοί[ς] πρόσθε ἐν τῇ πόλει ἢ εἴ τοι χρέματα ἐδεδέμε[υτο] ἢ εἴ τις τοῖ κοινῷ ὄφελεν ἢ εἴ τις ἐτίμοτ[ο] ¹¹⁷ . . . Further the decree requires (lines 18–22): ὅσα δὲ ἄλλα χυμβόλεια προτὸ ἐν τοῖς ἰ[διόταις] πρ[ὸς] τὸς ἰδιότα[ς] ἢ ἰδιώτει πρὸς τὸ κ[οινὸν] ἢ τοῖ κοινῷ πρὸς ἰδιότ[ε]ν ἢ ἕαν τι ἄ[λ]λο γίγ[νεται], δια[λύε]ται π[ρ]ὸς ἀλλήλους· ὅ, τι δ' ἂν ἀμφισβη[τῶσι],

by going to reside among the enemies of Athens; and we should naturally expect a demonstration of this fact to be given. Such a proof of his goodwill and esteem for Athens is forthcoming, if we apply the reference to δίκαι ἀπὸ *ξυμβολῶν* to the speaker's father. In this way οὐδὲ φεύγων τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ὑμέτερον acquires greater meaning, for the argument runs: 'The others go to your enemies, but my father, though he now lives in Aenus, makes no attempt to avoid intercourse with you; far from it, for he takes advantage of interstate juridical agreements in his law-suits with you; but he hates such informers as you do.' Thus the speaker attempts to show his father's trust in and goodwill to Athens, with the implied moral that the Athenian court before which he is pleading must not betray such confidence by condemning him. On this view the *ξυμβολαί* existed between Athens and Aenus, and have nothing to do with Lesbos or the mainland.

Such an interpretation involves the change of *δικαζόμενος* to *δικαζόμενος*, which is easy enough, in view of the two preceding accusative participles (such a change, if it took place, came about at a date earlier than the existing MSS of Antiphon, since both A and N read καὶ . . . *δικαζόμενος*, but the confusion of ο and ου can be illustrated from A: cp. I, 10: A. τοῦτου τεκμήριον, for τοῦτο τεκμήριον; I, 27: A pr. ἀπολλομένη for ἀπολούμένη; V, 24: A pr. ἀκούλοισιν for ἀκόλουθον). On the other hand, the corruption of ἀλλά, or some other adversative word, to καὶ is very difficult to explain, and that, or any other emendation designed to fit in *δικαζόμενος*, produces a sentence even uglier than the existing text. Nevertheless, the suggestion, replacing a difficulty of substance by one of text, is worthy of consideration.

¹¹³ For example, it is not made clear to what state (Athens or Lesbos) Herodes and his friends and would-be avengers belonged. The speaker mentions: 17¹ that he was kept in custody (ἐδεήν: cp. the ἀπαγωγὴ of 9: elsewhere he infers that he came to Athens of his own free will, and

was thereby deprived of the right of finding ἐγγυηταί, which was usually accorded to ξένοι. But it is not made clear whether this happened in Mytilene (where the preliminary investigations took place) or in Athens, or in both places, so that we cannot decide in which state he had the status of ξένος. The past tense (ἐδεήν) would seem to indicate Mytilene, in which case he was a ξένος there, and thus differed from his father, though he does not mention the fact, or the way in which it came about. He uses the phrases 'στέρεσθαι τῆς πόλεως' (= Athens: 13), and 'ἀποστερεῖν (ἐμὲ) τῆς πατρίδος' (= ? : 62), but it is to be supposed that exile would exclude him from Athens and Mytilene alike. There are yet other obscurities in connection with the voyage to Aenus. It cannot be said, therefore, that the speech affords a very sure basis of fact.

¹¹⁴ Robertson, *op. cit.*, p. 22, points out that the Samians were granted a form of *ἰσοπολιτεία* whereby they became citizens of Athens, although their own city was still in existence, while Athenians did not become citizens of Samos. The decree enacts that disputes between Athenians and Samians shall be decided according to the existing treaties. The *ἰσοπολιτεία* could not, from the nature of the case, be complete, so that it is not surprising that cases between Samians and Athenians, though the Samians were citizens of Athens, should be tried not by Athenian procedure in all instances, but according to the treaties which had been concluded when Samos was an entirely separate state and with which both parties were already familiar. For the previous position of Samos, see note 59.

¹¹⁵ Cp. lines 15–16: τοῖς δὲ νόμοις χρῆσθαι τοῖς σφετέροις αὐτῶν; αὐτονομος ὄντας.

¹¹⁶ Xen., *Hellenica*, I, 1, 21: 3. 10: Diod. Sic., XIII, 66, 4: Plut., *Alcibiades*, 30.

¹¹⁷ τοῖς πρόσθε ἐν τῇ πόλει, if the correct restoration, probably refers to the exiles whose recall is determined in lines 12–14.

δικαίης ἐναι ἀπὸ χσυμβολῶν. Forbes¹¹⁸ and Lipsius¹¹⁹ both accept this inscription as evidence that the ξυμβολαί in question existed to regulate disputes between a citizen of Selymbria and a citizen of Athens, or between the one state and a citizen of the other. But it is clear from lines 8–12 that τὸ κοινόν is τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Σηλυμβριανῶν, and that the lawsuits here envisaged would arise between citizens of Selymbria, or between the state and one of its citizens.¹²⁰ It is very apparent also that ξυμβόλαιον is here to be understood in its widest sense; the preceding provisions of the decree are concerned with debts owing from the city or private individual to the exiles whose recall is provided for, and with other questions arising from confiscated property, damage to property in wartime, and private resources commandeered for military purposes. The whole formed material for actions at law. After the mention of all these grounds of potential strife the decree proceeds to mention: ὅσα δὲ ἄλλα χσυμβόλαια . . ., which are therefore identified in nature, by the use of ‘ἄλλα,’ with the preceding categories. Yet such cases were to be decided ἀπὸ ξυμβολῶν.¹²¹ This is hard to explain, except on the assumption that such ξυμβολαί contained provisions concerning the decision of cases purely internal to Selymbria.

Two further decrees throw some light on this problem.¹²² The first, *IG* I², 41, deals with affairs at Histiaea, where, after the revolt of Euboea, the inhabitants were completely driven out,¹²³ and Athenian cleruchs were settled in their places. Among the provisions of the decree¹²⁴ was the establishment of a board of δικασταὶ κατὰ δήμους.¹²⁵ It appears that these judges, or a similar body, were also to exercise their powers in Ellopia and in Dium (line 15 ff.), two neighbouring native towns. It seems that the inhabitants of Ellopia made a request to Athens for the appointment of such officials, and since Ellopia does not appear in the tribute lists, it has been supposed¹²⁶ that they had been περίοικοι of Histiaea juridically as well as financially, and consequently, when the native Histiaeans were driven out, the Ellopians applied to Athens for judges to replace those who had, up to that time, been supplied by Histiaea. Dium, on the other hand, appears in tribute lists before and after 446 B.C.; therefore it would appear to have been an independent community, and not subject to Histiaea.¹²⁷ The decree makes it clear that Ellopia alone, and not Dium, asked for the appointment of these judges, and consequently the conclusion seems necessary that they were imposed on Dium as part of the punishment for revolt. The decree continues (in reference to the judges appointed

¹¹⁸ Edition of Thucydides, I, 67 of notes.

¹¹⁹ Meier-Schoemann, *Attische Recht*, p. 967.

¹²⁰ For διακρίνειν καὶ διαλύειν τὰ συμβόλαια, cp. *IG*, XII, 5, 1065, 8 (Carthaea, of the early third century). For similar circumstances in return of exiles cp. *GDI*, 214 (Vol. I), dated by Boeckh, 324 B.C. For κοινόν and ἰδιώτης as ‘state’ and ‘individual,’ cp. *IG* I², 39, 11.

¹²¹ It has been suggested to me that the ξυμβολαί in question are to be understood as an agreement (on the lines of the σύμβολα in *IG* I², 1, 185 (Athens and Sidon)) between the two conflicting parties in Selymbria. This seems unlikely, since nothing is said of the past or future creation of such an agreement, while other important arrangements for the pacification of the state and reconciliation of the parties are here mentioned for the first time.

¹²² It may be mentioned here that besides the long constitutional decree *IG* I², 10, a fragment of another (*IG* I², 11) seems to provide for the trial of lawsuits between Athenians and Erythraeans (line 11): [- - ho ‘Aθenaio|ς δικά|ζεται τῷ Έρυ|θραῖος τῷ Έ|Aθenaio|ς - - - |]. δικά|ζεν, καταβαλλ|ετο - - - - | τὸν δὲ πρωτα|νείαν - - - - | δικά|ζεν δε h (date between 470 and 450 B.C.); the usual meaning of δικάζειν is ‘to act as judge,’ and of δικάζεσθαι, ‘to bring actions against someone’ or more vaguely, ‘to resort to the law.’ But the restoration of ‘Aθenaioς cannot be proved, except on general grounds, and the inscription is too fragmentary to permit conclusions to be drawn from it. Nothing is known of the events which occasioned the decrees *IG* I², 10–13, but on the analogy of *IG* I², 22, it may be supposed that some internal upheaval gave Athens the opportunity of intervening to regulate the affairs of Erythrae in a democratic direction, and possibly

to impose judicial regulations. Highby (*Klio*, Beiheft XXXVI) believes that the decrees were promulgated to secure a recently established democracy against the exiled pro-Persian party, and to prevent secession from the League. Schaefer (*Hermes* LXXI, 129 ff.) holds much the same view.

¹²³ Thuc., I, 114; Diod. Sic., XII, 7 and 22; Plut., *Per.*, 23; Strabo (Theopompus) X, 1, 3.

¹²⁴ The first part of the decree arranged for the settlement of disputes between the cleruchs themselves (thus M. Cary, *JHS*, XLV, 247–8), apparently over the allotment of lands (cp. *IG* I², 40), and here, too, provision was made for the references of cases to Athens (cp. Cary, *op. cit.*), as in the later inscription, *IG* I², 42, which concerns the assessment of εἰσφορά (dated by Cary to the period between 435 B.C. (or 428–427 B.C.) and 420 B.C.). It seems preferable to interpret the mention of δίκαι in *IG* I², 40 and 41 as suits arising between the cleruchs themselves over the division of the land, rather than as suits between cleruchs and natives. See Cary’s arguments, *op. cit.*, pp. 247–8.

¹²⁵ They existed at Athens also, thirty in number at an earlier period, and forty in the time of Aristotle, *Αθ. πολ.* 26, 3. In Histiaea they were distinct from another board of thirty, of whom the decree says: δῶναι τὰς εὐθύνας ἐν ἡσυχίαι ἀπόλει; they were, therefore, a body of magistrates to try minor criminal cases.

¹²⁶ By Cary.

¹²⁷ For their appearance in the tribute lists cp. *IG* I², 202, 25 (443 B.C.); 207, 76 (433 B.C.); in these they are called Διῆς ἀπὸ Κηναίων; in the following, simply Διῆς; *IG* I², 194, 35–6 (451 B.C.); 196, 15 and 25 (449 B.C.); 63, 78 (425 B.C.).

for Ellopia, and the same would apply to those at Dium): δικάζ]εν δὲ τούτους τὰ [χσμβό|λαια τὰ ὀλείζο, τ]ὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ δέ[κα μνᾶς τ|ὸς δικαστᾶς ἐμ] πόλει [ἄρ]χο[ντας ἀπὸ μενὸς - - - -] ¹²⁸ Here again, despite the fragmentary state of the inscription, we seem to have good evidence for the intervention of Athens in the internal judicial administration of a subject state. 'This arrangement constituted a wider encroachment on the autonomy of Athens' allies than the universal practice of transferring the hearing of the more important cases only to Athens.' ¹²⁹

In the two cases just considered, there is evidence for (a) *ξυμβολαί* containing provisions for the trial of lawsuits between citizens of the same state (Selymbria), and (b) intervention by Athens in the decision of minor suits, by the appointment of itinerant judges, and in cases involving higher sums, by reference to the court which was the equivalent of the Athenian *dikasteria*—i.e., the court of the Athenian cleruchs at Histiaea.

Another decree, which apparently provided for the reference of certain cases (the nature of which will be discussed below) directly to Athens, may point in the same direction. Too much emphasis, however, must not be laid upon it, since its imperfect state makes its interpretation doubtful. This decree, *IG* I², 22, refers to the intervention of Athens at Miletus, after a period of domestic strife,¹³⁰ in the manner of her action at Erythrae. The fragments a and b of the inscription deal with the appointment of five commissioners, who seem intended to co-operate with the local authorities in re-establishing or confirming the (democratic) constitution (lines 1–23; cp. fragments d and e); fragment c reads (from line 29): [. . . χσ]υμμάχον ἡό, τι ἂμ μὲ Ἀθε[να - - - - - ἄτιμο]ς ἔστο καὶ τὰ χρέματα α[ὕτῳ] δεμόσια - - - - - τὰ[ς] δὲ δίκας ἔναι Μιλεσίοις κα[τὰ - - - - -] δραχμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιδεκάτο[ν - - - - - τὰ]δὲ πρυτανεῖα τιθέντων πρὸς [τὸς ἄρχοντας τὸς Ἀθηναίον - - - - - ἡα|ι] δὲ δίκαι Ἀθένεσι ὄντων ἐν τ[οῖ - - - καὶ Ἀνθεσ|τε]ριδνὶ καὶ Ἐλαφεβολιδνὶ ἡ - - - - - etc. (see text in *IG* I², 22). As far as can be made out in lines 30–32, a penalty of confiscation of property ¹³¹ is imposed as punishment for some offence. The next well-established words are (line 31): τὰς] δὲ δίκας ἔναι Μιλεσίοις κα[τὰ. . . . One would be tempted strongly to suppose that the decree continued: κα[τὰ τὰς] ξυμβολάς, and to connect these lines with the references in lines 33–35 to πρυτανεῖα, Ἀνθεσ|τε]ριδνὶ καὶ Ἐλαφεβολιδνὶ,¹³² and ἡαὶ δὲ δίκαι Ἀθένεσι ὄντων, to draw the conclusion that, under certain circumstances δίκαι ἀπὸ ξυμβολῶν were to be referred to Athens from Miletus. But in line 32 we read: . . . δραχμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιδεκάτο[ν . . . , which must refer to the penalty of confiscation imposed in line 30, and prevents the interpretation of lines 31–35 as a reference to civil cases. As has been seen already, in *IG* I², 39, on the affairs of Chalcis, cases involving capital punishment, exile and loss of civil rights, were referred to Athens, and perhaps the present is a similar case, but the greater detail in the arrangements here is striking, and the phrase: δίκας ἔναι Μιλεσίοις κα[τὰ. . . . , of line 31 seems somewhat strange. The πρυτανεῖα mentioned in line 33 would equally well apply

¹²⁸ The δικασταὶ κατὰ δῆμον at Athens judged cases involving sums up to ten drachmae only (cp. Aristotle, *Ἀθ. πολ.*, 53: . . . καὶ τὰ μὲν μέχρι δέκα δραχμῶν αὐτοτελεῖς εἰσι δικάζειν, τὰ δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦτο τὸ τίμημα τοῖς διατηταῖς παραδιδόασιν. Perhaps, therefore, δέκα δραχμᾶς should be read here; ἐμ πόλει refers to Histiaea.

¹²⁹ M. Cary, *JHS*, XLV, 249.

¹³⁰ This decree has been associated (e.g. by Glotz, *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. d. Inscr.*, 1906, pp. 519 ff.) with the Milesian decree concerning the banishment of certain members of the oligarchic faction in that city. This decree (Ditt., *Syll.* (3), I, 58) condemned the people in question to perpetual banishment, and set a price on their heads. Glotz, comparing a passage of Nicolaos Damascenos (*Excerpta de Insidiis*, pp. 19, 15) (Jacoby, *Fr. Gr. Hist.*, II, 354, 53), would see in them members of the Neleid clan, and explains the surviving decree (which appears on a base originally surmounted by a stele) as a reaffirmation of a lost decree, inscribed on the stele, and directed against the same family in the 6th century. Whatever the identity of the individuals in question, it is generally agreed that they were of the oligarchic party, with whom, according to [Xenophon] *Ἀθ. πολ.*, III, 11, the Athenians made common

cause in the fifth century, at some uncertain date. The oligarchic party, however, turned on the democrats, and apparently were expelled: hence the decree of Miletus directed against them (*Syll.* (3), I, 58). This internal strife seems to have given the Athenians the opportunity of interfering again in the affairs of Miletus, as the decree *IG* I², 22 shows. Whether, at this time, and as a result of these events, Miletus suffered a decline in prosperity and wealth, is uncertain. The prices set on the heads of the exiles and the fines appointed for non-observance of the decree are not low, as Glotz supposes, because in the case of a city of Asia Minor, such as Miletus, staters would naturally be the electrum coins of that name. On the other hand the tribute of Miletus, which was ten talents in 450–449 B.C. (*IG* I², 195, 30), appears as five talents in 443–442 B.C., and in 440–439 B.C. (*IG* I², 202, 33; 205, 11). But this may have been a favour on the part of Athens (cp. the way in which Miletus was favoured against Samos).

¹³¹ Restored on the analogy of *IG* I², 10, 31.

¹³² Second half of February to first half of April. These seem unsuitable months for the reference of cases to Athens, since the sailing season had not started by mid-April.

to civil or to criminal cases.¹³³ In line 48: τὰς δὲ ὑπὲρ ἑκατὸν δραχμάς was interpreted by Boeckh¹³⁴ and Gilbert¹³⁵ to mean that cases involving sums of over one hundred drachmae were referred to Athens. Busolt¹³⁶ rejects this theory on the grounds that (a) such a great journey would be unreasonable in cases where sums just over one hundred drachmae were involved; (b) that the *πρυτανεῖα*, as noticed above, appear in a context probably dealing with a public criminal offence¹³⁷; and (c) that 100 drachmae is the limit to which Athenian officials in Miletus (presumably those mentioned in line 44: ἐπιμελῶσθον ἡοι πέν[τε - -]) could impose fines, while higher penalties could be made the subject of appeal.¹³⁸ Of these points (b) and (c) seem valid objections, (c) particularly so since not far below, in line 53, occurs: παθὲν ἢ ἀ[ποτεῖσαι - -], and in fragments d-e, line 65: [ἀμ μὲ] μέζονο[ς ἀ]χσ[ι]ος εἰ ζεμίας Ἀθε[ναί - -] . ἐπιβ[αλόντε]ς ἡ[ο]πόδες ἂν δοκεῖ ἀχσ[ι]ος ἔναι - - -].¹³⁹ In view of the fragmentary state of the inscription the question will have to be left open, but the possibility of undue Athenian interference should be borne in mind. The cases of Dium and Selymbria give support to this, as well as the practice of Athens in the fourth century, when, despite the greater freedom of the second Athenian League, the fact that members of it could be allied to Athens individually as well,¹⁴⁰ made possible a form of subjection in legal matters. This occurred not only in suits in which an Athenian was one of the interested parties, but also when both parties were members of the allied state. This effect was obtained by establishing the right of appeal to Athens as ἐκκλητος πόλις¹⁴¹; cp. *IG* II², I, 179 (Naxos),¹⁴² where fragmentary references occur to δικαστήριον τὸ ἐν Νάξῳ (line 9), τὸ δικαστήριον Ἀθήνησι (line 12), and to οἱ θεσμοθέται (line 17), ἡ ἐκκλητος (line 14), ἐφέσιμοι δίκαι (line 16); *IG* II², I, 111 (Ceos),¹⁴³ where the magistrates undertake to deal with all suits involving over one hundred drachmae as ἐκκλητοὶ (lines 73-75); there is a reference in the same inscription to τῇ ἐκκλητῷ πόλει Ἀθήνησι (line 49); cp. *IG* II², I, 404, a later renewal of the same agreement.¹⁴⁴ If Athens could adopt such procedure in the fourth century, it is far more likely that she followed the same practice in the period of the Empire, when she exercised greater power over her allies.

The results of the above investigation may be summed up briefly. I have accepted the opinion that the subject allies only are concerned in the passage of Thucydides which has been considered, and that the term *ξυμβόλαια δίκαι* excludes the possibility that reference is being made to the trial at Athens of capital charges. In view of the divergence of opinion in the interpretation of *ξυμβόλαια δίκαι*, I have attempted to show that both opinions, (a) that *ξυμβόλαιος* derives from *ξυμβόλαιον*, and (b) that *ξυμβόλαια δίκαι* are *δίκαι ἀπὸ ξυμβολῶν*, can be reconciled by giving to *ξυμβόλαιον* a wider meaning than 'business agreement.' An examination of the available epigraphical evidence has led to the conclusion that *ξυμβολαί* between Athens and her allies varied in significance according to the status of the ally concerned. In the case of the independent allies, and those other states far removed from the centre of the Empire, *ξυμβολαί* signified a mutual agreement regulating the trial of lawsuits in which an Athenian and a member of the other contracting state were involved; such *ξυμβολαί* were

¹³³ In line 39 ff. we read: [. . .] παρεχόντων τὸ δικαστ[έριον] πλήρες - - - ἐν τοῖς μεσ[ι] τοῖς προερεμένοις ἐ εὐθύν[εσθον] χιλιάσι δραχμῆσι - -, which recalls *IG* I², 41: ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον [ἐγ] δικαστήριον τὸ ἐξ Ἑστιάδας ἐσάγει τὰς δίκας, καὶ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς μενὶ ἡοι ναυτοδ[ικαί] μὲν τὸ δικαστήριον παρεχόντων π[λ]ῆρες ἐ εὐ[θ]υνέσθω(ν) The latter arrangement Cary connects with disputes over land between the cleruchs of Histiaea, and consequently the parallel is only apparent.

¹³⁴ *Staath. d. Athen.*, I '31, 478.

¹³⁵ Gilbert, *Gr. Staatsalt.*, I², 484.

¹³⁶ *Gr. Gesch.*, III², I, p. 231, note 2.

¹³⁷ In any case a reference to *πρυτανεῖα* would apply equally well to civil and to criminal cases.

¹³⁸ For proof of reference of cases of some sort from Miletus to Athens, cp. *id.*, fragment c. lines 41 ff.: [. . .] πρὸς τὸς ἀρχοντας τὸς Ἀ[θ]εναίων - -] Ἀθ[ε]ναίε τοῖς ἐπιμελε[σ]ομεν-οῖς - -] οἱ καθάπερ προτὸ καὶ ἐμ[Μι]λήτοι - -

¹³⁹ The reference is *δίκαι τιμητοί*.

¹⁴⁰ Cp. Szanto, *Ath. Mitt.*, Vol. XVI, 30, note 2, on Methymna, which was first allied to Athens, and then

joined the Second Athenian League.

¹⁴¹ See note 38.

¹⁴² Dated in *IG* II² to before 353-352 B.C.; Hitzig, *Altgriechische Staatsverträge*, p. 34, dates it to c. 378 B.C., but probably this is too early. Naxos revolted, and was reduced by Chabrias in 363-362 B.C., and the decree is almost certainly connected with that event.

¹⁴³ Likewise reduced after revolt, by Chabrias, in 363-362 B.C. Cp. Szanto, *Ath. Mitt.*, XVI, 34-5; Hitzig, *op. cit.*, pp. 10 and 34; Lipsius, *op. cit.*, p. 976.

¹⁴⁴ Cp. also *IG* XII, 7, 3 (*BCH*, XII, 230 ff.), relating to Arkesine in Amorgos, in which references occur to τὸ ἀστικὸν δικαστήριον, and τὸ ἡ(τοῖ) ἐκκλητος (ον). Note particularly, l. 48 ff.: τὰς δὲ δίκας τὰς διαγραφείσας ἐν τοῖς λευκ[ο]ῖς ὤμασιν ἐξένοι αὐτὸ δι[κ]άσασθαι ἐπὶ τῷ ἀστικῷ δικαστηρίῳ μέχρι ἐκ[α]τ[ὶ]ν δραχμῶν - - - ἡμα γ[ὰρ] μεναι ἐκκλητῶ[ι] . . . , and line 29: μήτε αὐτὸ μήτε ἐν ἐκκλητῷ μηδ[ε]μο. Szanto (*Ath. Mitt.*, XVI, 35) believed that the ἐκκλητος πόλις was Athens in the case of Arkesine also, but there is no proof of this. The decree belongs to the first half of the fourth century.

based on principles of equality between the two parties, as in the case of *ξυμβολαί* with other sovereign states. On the other hand, *ξυμβολαί* between Athens and subject allies appear to have had a wider scope, for while they undoubtedly provided for the settlement of suits between an Athenian and a member of the state in question, the example of Selymbria shows that they could contain other provisions, namely for the judgement of civil cases concerning members of the subject state alone. Further grounds for inferring that Athens exercised undue interference in internal civil suits in the allied states have been given by the Histiaeae decree, with its reference to *Dium*. The decree relating to Miletus may or may not be still further proof of this interference—by the transference of cases involving more than a certain sum to Athens—but the fourth century practice of making Athens a court of appeal from local decisions adds probability to such an assumption. Limitations, by these means, were probably imposed from time to time as opportunity offered, when revolt or civil disturbance occasioned the intervention of Athens (cp. Erythrae, Miletus,¹⁴⁵ Euboea,¹⁴⁶ and Selymbria), or when *ξυμβολαί* previously existing came up for renewal.¹⁴⁷ It appears that there was no uniformity in the type of limitation imposed,¹⁴⁸ but Athens preserved the appearance and probably the reality of impartial judgement (*a*) by the appointment of local judges, where opportunity offered (*Dium*), to judge cases according to law, rather than arbitrarily, or (*b*) by embodying in *ξυμβολαί* regulations for the procedure in the local courts, and by providing in both cases for reference or appeal to the Athenian courts, in the more important suits. Such limitations on local jurisdiction would naturally be irksome to the subject allies, particularly since intervention of this sort was by no means uniform in nature and degree, but varied according to the state of dependence of the ally in question.¹⁴⁹

R. J. HOPPER

Aberystwyth.

¹⁴⁵ See note 131 above.

¹⁴⁶ It may be asked why no mention of civil suits appears in the decree concerning Chalcis (*IG* I², 39). There is no reason to suppose that such provision was omitted, but it was probably contained in a separate decree: note that in the case of Erythrae (*IG* I², 10) the 'constitutional decree' also contained provisions concerning murder and treason, while a separate decree introduced regulations for civil suits (*IG* I², 11). It appears from *IG* I² that some of the letter forms differ in this inscription (*id.*, 11) from those in the fragments, *id.*, 12 and 13 which Highby connects with the 'constitutional inscription' (*IG* I², 10, existing only in Fauvel's copy), but the differences are not such that it need be of a different date. A very fragmentary inscription, *IG* I², 49, concerning Eretria, appears to deal with an embassy sent to Athens to obtain settlement of certain lawsuits (note the mention of the polemarch), line 4 ff.: *περι δὲ ὧν ἐδικ ον ενδοι* [. κ]οντ' ἐμερῶν ἀ[φ' ἑ]ς ἄν δὲ πολέμαρχ[ος] εἰ h[. εἰ] δ[ικασ]τήριον εἰ h[. εἰ] κοσι ἐμερῶν. But if the restoration of the inscription *IG* I², 396, on the base of a dedication, is correct: *τὲς ἀποικίας*] *τὲς ἐς Ἐπ[ε]τριαν*, the judicial decree may refer to some dispute in the cleruchy (of which *IG* I², 396 is the only evidence, such as over the payment of *εἰσφορά*, as in *IG* I², 42. The date of *IG* I², 49 is given by Hiller von Gaertringen as sometime after 442–441 B.C.

¹⁴⁷ Cp. *IG* I², 133, for the possible restoration of a reference to the renewal of *ξυμβολαί*. In Bannier's opinion the case is that of a revolting allied state, which had returned to submission.

¹⁴⁸ Cp. Lipsius, *op. cit.*, p. 972: 'Gerade für diese Klagen wird die Gerichtsbarkeit der einzelnen Bundesstaaten je nach ihrer Entfernung und ähnlicher Rücksichten in verschiedener Weise sich abgestuft haben, so dass man sich hüten muss, aus dem einzelnen Zeugnis sofort allgemeine

Regel zu folgern.'

¹⁴⁹ Thus Phaselis, though a tributary ally, was accorded the rights of an independent ally, thanks to her position on the borders of the Empire and on a strategic trade-route.

NOTE.—Since the above was written the term *δικαι ἀπὸ ξυμβολῶν* has been introduced as an emendation into the new fragment of the Athenian currency decree found in Cos, and published by M. Segré in *Clara Rhodos* IX 'La legge Ateniese sull' unificazione della moneta: I owe my knowledge of the article to the kindness of Mr. M. N. Tod', to which work readers may be referred for full details of the inscription, discussion of its date and significance, and its relation to the other fragments of the currency inscription found elsewhere. It suffices to say here that in line 5, of the Cos fragment (*op. cit.*, p. 11), Segré restores: . . . ἐὰν δ' ἐμὲ ὀρθὸς ἀναγράφῃσι τὸ τὸν πόλιν πινος, ἐσα[γέ]σθ[ο] μὲν δίκαι ἀπὸ χυμβολῶν ἐς τ[ὴν] ἐλασίαν τὴν τῶν θ[εσμοθετῶν κατὰ τὸν νόμον . . .]. There follows the provision that the Thesmothetai are to administer a fine (there is some doubt here concerning the reading and restoration of the inscription). A mention of the class of *δικαι ἀπὸ ξυμβολῶν* cannot stand here: there is no place for such an institution (which was concerned with private civil cases) in the administration and enforcement of an imperial decree. In this particular case an appeal was allowed against the action of the Hellenotamiai, and we should expect the mention of some specific official court of appeal, with fixed procedure. The part of the line preserved . . . τ[ὴν] ἐλασίαν τὴν τῶν θ[εσμοθετῶν . . .] recalls *IG* I², 39, 74 ff., of Chalkis: *περὶ δὲ τούτων ἔφεσιν ἑναίη* 'Ἀθῆναζε ἐς τὴν ἐλασίαν τὴν τὸν θεσμοθετῶν and it is natural that the court of appeal here mentioned, presided over by the Thesmothetai, should try a case which was an appeal from the ruling of Athenian officials, since it was unlikely that there was more than one such court of appeal. As a restoration of the line in the Cos fragment, the following might be suggested: *ἐσα[γυν]τον μὲν περὶ τούτο Ἀθῆναζε ἐς τ[ὴν] ἐλασίαν τὴν τῶν θ[εσμοθετῶν κατὰ τὸν νόμον]*

THE GREEK CALENDAR

THE Greek calendar has not received as much attention from students of Greek religion as it deserves. The data have been collected by Bischoff. Nilsson has always appreciated its importance, and his contributions to the subject have laid a broad and solid foundation for further research. Both Farnell and Harrison neglected it, and Deubner's *Attische Feste* (1932) is less adequate in this respect than Mommsen's *Feste der Stadt Athen* (1898). The question of intercalation was raised in an acute form by Fotheringham, and has never been satisfactorily solved.¹ Meanwhile progress has been made in the study of the Egyptian and Babylonian calendars, with results that have an important bearing on the Greek.² This paper does not pretend to be exhaustive. It is merely a discussion of some of the wider issues that arose in the course of an attempt to solve a particular problem—the peculiar method adopted at Olympia for fixing the date of the Games.

I. ITS ULTIMATE ORIGIN

Originally, as Nilsson has shown, all calendars were regulated by the moon.³ The basic unit was the month, corresponding to a complete lunation and divided into two or three parts according to the lunar phases. The lunar (synodic) month contains 29·53 days, and twelve lunar months make the lunar year of 354·36 days. There is thus a difference of approximately 11 days between the lunar year and the solar astronomical year of 365·24 days. With the development of agriculture it became necessary to construct a solar calendar. At first the lunar year was taken as the basis, supplemented by periodical intercalations designed to co-ordinate it with the solar year. This is the lunisolar calendar. Later the lunar basis was abandoned. The months remained, but they were adapted to a period corresponding more or less closely to the solar year. The Egyptian and Babylonian calendars, as we know them, were solar, but the Greek was lunisolar. The lunar basis was preserved in Greece because, as Geminus explains, so many of the festivals were fixed by the moon.⁴ The Greek system was thus more primitive than either the Egyptian or the Babylonian. A brief comparison will make this clear.

The Egyptians had two calendars, which they used concurrently. The year was divided into thirds, each containing four months of 30 days each. In the Sliding Calendar, which was probably in continuous use from the protodynastic period down to Roman times, five days were intercalated annually, bringing the total to 365. The Egyptians knew that the true length of the solar year was approximately $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, but they neglected the fraction deliberately in order to create a progressive deviation between this Sliding Calendar and the Sothic Calendar, which is believed to have been instituted at the summer solstice in 2769 B.C. This differed from the Sliding Calendar in that a sixth day was intercalated in every fourth year, as in our Julian calendar, which is derived from Egypt. Thus, after the lapse of a century the Sliding Calendar would be 25 days behind the Sothic. And so by citing any event according to both calendars it was possible to determine not only the day of the year, but the year of the era. This is the most perfect chronological system that has ever been devised.

The Babylonian calendar was based on a year of 360 days divided into halves and beginning at the vernal equinox. Each half-year contained six months of 30 days. But instead of insert-

¹ L. Bischoff in Pauly-Wissowa s.v. Kalender (1919); M. P. Nilsson, *Entstehung und religiöse Bedeutung des griechischen Kalenders* (1918), *Primitive Time-Reckoning* (1920), 'Sonnenkalender und Sonnenreligion,' *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 30. 141 (1928); J. K. Fotheringham, 'Cleostratus,' *JHS* 39. 179 (1919).

² For the Egyptian calendar I have relied on J. W. S.

Sewell, 'The Calendars and Chronology,' in S. R. K. Glanville, *The Legacy of Egypt* (1942), and for the Babylonian on S. Langdon, *The Babylonian Menologies and Semitic Calendars* (1935), cf. F. Hommel in Hastings s.v. Calendar, Babylonian.

³ *PTR* 148–223.

⁴ *Gem.* 8. 7–8.

ing five or six days annually, the Babylonians intercalated a whole month every sixth year. This system was cruder than the Egyptian, because it involved a recurrent deviation of 26 days.

The New Year festival at Babylon lasted 11 days, and in a seventh-century Assyrian document, based on an older Babylonian original, we are told that this figure was chosen in recognition of the difference between the solar and lunar years.⁵ This indicates that the Babylonian calendar had once been lunisolar, and in fact we know that the old Sumerian calendar, of which some remains have survived, was lunisolar.⁶ The antecedent stages of the Egyptian solar calendar have not been reconstructed.

In Greece each city-state had its own calendar, but so far as we know the structure was everywhere the same. The year was divided into twelve months alternating in length between 29 and 30 days and so leaving an annual deficit of $11\frac{1}{4}$ days.⁷ Thus, though the Greeks had behind them many centuries of Egyptian and Babylonian experience, they failed to profit by it. In this matter they were hampered, like the Sumerians, by the autonomy of their city-states. The Egyptians enjoyed the advantage of having been united from the earliest times under a central government. This had been forced on them by the need to control the Nile flood, on which the whole of their agriculture depended. That is why their system is the most perfect of the three. The importance of this political factor reappears in the later history of Greece. Under Alexander and his successors, when the city-states lost their autonomy, the Macedonian calendar came into general use.

The conclusion to which this comparison seems to lead is that the Greek calendar was founded on an Anatolian or Syrian prototype which was derived from Mesopotamia at a time when the lunisolar calendar had not been superseded.

Its Babylonian affinities are confirmed from other sources. As Nilsson has observed, all the Apolline festivals of which the dates are known fall on the 7th day of the month, the day of the first lunar quarter.⁸ The Babylonians recognised four lunar quarters and treated the 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th as *dies nefasti*, corresponding to the Hebrew sabbath.⁹ This fourfold division of the month is found only in Babylonia and in countries where it can be traced back to that source.

There are also numerous correspondences between Greek and Babylonian festivals which suggest that the two calendars had a common basis.

In Babylonia offerings to the dead were made in the month of Teshrit, the first of the second half-year (September–October); at Athens the Genesia, a feast of ancestors, fell in the corresponding month of Boedromion. In the month of Kislev (November–December) libations were offered to Ereshkigal, goddess of the underworld, to fructify the earth; the Attic Haloa, an agrarian festival of Demeter, was held in the month of Poseideon (December–January). These parallels were pointed out by Langdon.¹⁰ There are many others.

There was great diversity in Greece in regard to the beginning of the calendar year. In Athens and Delphi it began at the first new moon after the summer solstice; in Boeotia and Delos after the winter solstice. In Chios, on the other hand, it began with the vernal equinox; in Sparta, Rhodes, Crete, and Miletos with the autumnal equinox. These variations have not been explained. They may have been determined by local factors, or they may have been inherent in the Greek calendar from the outset. At Babylon, as I have remarked, the New Year festival took place at the vernal equinox, but at Erech and Ur it was repeated at the beginning of the second half-year, that is, at the autumnal equinox,¹¹ and there is evidence that the old Sumerian year had begun at the winter solstice.¹²

⁵ Langdon *BMSC* 107–9.

⁶ Langdon in *Cambridge Ancient History* 1. 461–2.

⁷ In addition there was a discrepancy of 36 days between the calendar year and the true lunar year, which meant that the lunar phases did not always coincide with those days of the calendar month to which they were traditionally assigned. Hence, for example, the distinction between the actual new moon and the nominal new moon (Th. 2. 28). This is why, in the last section of the *Works and Days*

(765–828), dealing with the traditional associations of particular days, all of which had their *origin* in the lunar phases, there is no mention of the moon.

⁸ *PTB* 366–8, *Griechische Feste* 397.

⁹ Langdon 86–7.

¹⁰ *Ib.* 105–6, 138.

¹¹ C. J. Gadd, 'Babylonian Myth and Ritual,' *Myth and Ritual* (1933) 46.

¹² Langdon in *CAH* 1. 462.

Notwithstanding these discrepancies, we find all over Greece traces of a bipartite year divided, as in Babylonia, at the equinox.

The Delphic Amphictyony met twice a year, in spring and autumn.¹³ Theseus left Athens for Crete on the 6th of Mounychion (April–May) and returned six months later on the 7th of Pyanopsion (October–November).¹⁴ In the cult of Apollo at Delos oracles were delivered only in the six summer months; in the cult of the same god at Patara they were delivered only in the six winter months.¹⁵ The tie between these two centres was probably very old, because the Delians possessed some ancient hymns to Apollo which they attributed to Olen of Lycia,¹⁶ and it may have been renewed by the Greek family from Xanthos which supplied several of the Ionian cities with their kings.¹⁷ It will be observed that at Delos the oracular season cuts across the calendar year, which began in the historical period with the winter solstice.

At Athens the training of ξφηβοί began in Boedromion (September–October),¹⁸ and they had important duties to discharge in Elaphebolion (March–April). In this month, under the direction of the ἄρχων, they sacrificed a bull to Dionysus.¹⁹ At Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros a bull was presented to Zeus Sosipolis at the new moon of Kronion (October–November) with prayers for the safety of the city, peace, plenty, and the welfare of the crops, and after being fattened through the winter it was sacrificed on the 12th of Artemision (April–May).²⁰ The sacrifice was performed by the στεφανηφόρος, an official whom we find in several Ionian cities. He was entitled to wear a crown, and also apparently purple, as a mark of royalty,²¹ and he gave his name to the year.²² For these reasons he may be equated with the Athenian ἄρχων βασιλεύς, who exercised the sacral functions inherited from the kingship. From an entry in Hesychios it appears that a similar festival was observed in Miletos.²³

At Olympia the Basilai sacrificed to Sosipolis on the Hill of Kronos at the vernal equinox,²⁴ and this rite may have been connected with the Games, which fell six or seven months earlier. We are not told what the victim was, but the origin of the Basilai is betrayed by their name, and the parallel with Magnesia is confirmed by the fact that in both cults the god Sosipolis was associated with the snake.²⁵

At Kos a specially selected bull was sacrificed to Zeus Polieus by the γεραφόρος βασιλέων, whose royal origin is again clear, on the 20th of Batromios (Badromios), which in Kos was probably February–March.²⁶ In this case, however, there is no record of any corresponding observance six months before.

This evidence suggests that there was in several Greek states an ancient co-ordination of equinoctial rites corresponding to the Babylonian New Year festival observed in Nisan (March–April) and again in Teshrit (September–October). This was a coronation festival, in which the king was derobed and reinvested. On the fifth day he performed a ceremony, signifying the victory of Marduk over his enemies, in the presence of a white bull, which he addressed

¹³ Str. 420, cf. D. 18. 154–5.

¹⁴ Plu. *Thes.* 18, 22.

¹⁵ Serv. *ad Verg. A.* 4. 143, cf. Hdt. 1. 182. D.S. 2. 47.

¹⁶ Hdt. 4. 35. Call. *Del.* 296–315. Paus. 1. 18. 5, 8. 21, 9. 17. 2, 10. 5.

¹⁷ Hdt. 1. 147.

¹⁸ Mommsen *FS.A* 176.

¹⁹ *CIA* 2. 471 = *IG* 2. 471. 12 εἰσήγαγον δὲ (sc. οἱ ξφηβοί) καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσχάρας εἰς τὸ θέατρον μετὰ φωτὸς καὶ ἔπειψαν τοῖς Διονυσίοις ταῦρον ἀξίον τοῦ θεοῦ, ὃν καὶ ἔθυσαν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῇ πομπῇ, cf. *CIA* 4. 318b = *IG* 2. 478 δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ τα μὲν ἀγαθὰ δεχεσθῆαι τὸν δῆμον ἃ ἀπαγγέλλει ὁ ἄρχων γεγονέναι ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἃ ἔθυσεν ἐφ' ὑγιείας καὶ σωτηρίας τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν καρπῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρῃ.

²⁰ *SIG* 589. Kronion is identified with Pyanopsion by the fact that it coincided with the sowing (ἀρχομένου σπέρου μηνὸς Κρονίωνος), while the equation of Artemision with Mounychion can be inferred from the position of Artemision at Delos, Artamitis at Rhodes, Kos, and elsewhere, and Artemisios in the Macedonian calendar.

²¹ Str. 648, cf. 633.

²² *SIG* 589. 1.

²³ Hsch. Διὸς βοῦς· ὁ τῷ Διὶ ἀνετος βοῦς ὁ ἱερός· ἔστι δὲ ἡ

ἐορτὴ Μιλησίων.

²⁴ Paus. 6. 20. 1.

²⁵ J. E. Harrison, *Themis* 241 fig. 61. E. N. Gardiner, who contended that the Olympian cult of Sosipolis was a late innovation 'typical of the superstitious credulity of the fourth century' (*Olympia* 125), forgot that an almost identical cult had flourished from prehistoric times on the Athenian acropolis (Hdt. 8. 41. 2–3, Hsch. οἰκουρὸν ὄφιν, cf. *Apld.* 3. 14. 6).

²⁶ *SIG* 1025. This last example resembles the Attic Bouphonia, in which an ox was dedicated to Zeus Polieus. But the Bouphonia fell on the 14th of Skirophorion, the last full moon of the Attic year, and so was related to the summer solstice. At Samos, where the year also began after the summer solstice, the last month was Kronion (*SIG* 976). The Attic Kronia fell on the 12th of Hekatombaion, before the first full moon of the New Year, and this month had formerly been called Kronion (Plu. *Thes.* 12). Considering the extreme antiquity of the cult of Kronos and its affinity to the Babylonian Šakaia (see Langdon, *The Babylonian Epic of Creation* 57), I suspect that there is an underlying thread here which has not yet been disentangled.

as 'divine bull of Anu, glorious light which illumines the darkness.' That the bull was subsequently sacrificed is not stated in our records, which are fragmentary, but it was certainly intended to represent the constellation Taurus, in allusion to the fact that the sun was in the sign of Taurus at the vernal equinox in the era when the ceremony was instituted. This was the sun's position at the time of year in question throughout the fourth and third millennia. It moved out of Taurus into Aries about 1900 B.C.²⁷ The presentation of the bull must therefore have belonged to the original nucleus of the festival, and from it presumably the constellation derived its name.

Whether these bull cults really go back to a common origin must be left an open question until we know more about the Minoan bull cult, which, as the myth of the Minotaur implies, was associated with the kingship.

II. ITS IMMEDIATE ORIGIN

In his *Primitive Time-Reckoning*, which is an admirable example of the comparative method, Nilsson has shown that the Greek calendar differs from type in one important respect. Among primitive peoples the months are generally named after seasonal phenomena or occupations. In Greece, with very few exceptions, they bear the names of religious festivals. This shows that the Greek calendar developed under hieratic control. Nilsson concludes that it was of non-Greek origin, and that it was introduced not earlier than the seventh century, or at most the eighth, under the supervision of the Delphic priesthood.²⁸

The first part of this conclusion is undoubtedly correct in the sense that the Greek calendar did not belong to the indigenous tradition of the Greek-speaking conquerors of the Aegean. They took it over from the cultures with which they came in contact. But when? If it was a religious product, there is a strong presumption that, like so much else in Greek religion, it was a heritage from the Mycenaean age, and in fact there are positive reasons for believing that it was both older and less dependent on Delphi than Nilsson allows.

If it had been organised in comparatively recent times by Delphi, we should expect to find some degree of panhellenic uniformity in the beginning of the calendar year and in the names of the months. But this is not the case. Only at Athens and Samos does the year begin, as at Delphi, with the summer solstice. The names of five of the Delphic months occur sporadically elsewhere, but the rest are unique.²⁹ Moreover, a comparison of the Attic-Ionic and Doric names suggests that their history followed that of the dialects themselves.

The Attic nomenclature agrees closely with the Delian,³⁰ pointing to an Attic-Ionic prototype, older than the Ionian migration. We turn naturally to Boeotia. There we find a month Lenaion, mentioned by Hesiod,³¹ which recurs in Delos and all over Ionia. At Athens

ATHENS	DELOS	RHODES	DELPHI
*Hekatombaion	Hekatombaion	Panamos	*Apellaïos
Metageitnion	Metageitnion	Karneios	Boukatios
Boedromion	Bouphonion	Dalios	Boathoos
Pyanopsion	Apatourion	*Thesmophorios	Heraïos
Maimakterion	Aresion	Sminthios	Daidophorios
Poseideon	Poseideon	Diosthyos	Poitropios
Gamelion	*Lenaion	Theudaisios	Amalios
Anthesterion	Hieros	Pedageitnyos	Bysios
Elaphebolion	Galaxion	Badromios	Theoxenios
Mounychion	Artemision	Artamitios	Endyspoitropios
Thargelion	Thargelion	Agrianios	Herakleios
Skirphorion	Panemos	Hyakinthios	Ilaïos

* First month of the calendar year.

²⁷ Gadd 54. Langdon *BEC* 26.

²⁸ Nilsson *ERBGK* 29, *PTR* 365.

²⁹ Some are very difficult to explain, e.g. Ἀμάλιος, Βύσιος, Ἰλαῖος. The Attic for Ἐνδυσποιτρόπιος would be Ἐνδοπροσ-τρόπιος, but what does it mean?

³⁰ In addition to the actual homonyms, the Delian Apatourion, Lenaion, and Galaxion all correspond to Attic feasts. Πάναμος (Πάνημος) is Macedonian.

³¹ Hes. *Op.* 504.

the feast of Lenaia was kept in the same month, and there is no doubt that, like other cults of Dionysus, it reached Athens from Boeotia. Similarly, Poseideon, found only in the Ionic calendars, recalls the Panionic cult of Poseidon Helikonios, which, as the name shows, originated in Boeotia.

The Doric nomenclature is different again and within itself remarkably uniform. Karneios and Hyakinthios, referring to ancient Dorian festivals, are almost universal. The same is true of Pedageitnyos, Badromios, and Theudaisios. The first two of these, though differently placed, are the same names as the Attic-Ionic Metageitnion and Boedromion; and Badromios = Boedromion correspond in meaning to the Delphic Boathoos. But their different positions in the calendar make it difficult to suppose that they were borrowed from Delphi as late as the seventh or eighth century. And finally, the Doric Agrianios, which occurs at Aigina, Sparta, Rhodes, Kos, Kalymnos, and Byzantium, is found nowhere else except in Thebes and three other towns of Boeotia (Chaironeia, Lebadeia, Oropos). Similarly, the feast of Agriana is recorded only in Boeotia and Argos,³² and it is clear that it reached Argos from Boeotia. At Argos it was associated with the Proitides, who reduplicate the Minyades of Orchomenos, and with Melampous, who was descended from Minyas.³³ Where and when did this month get into the Doric calendar? Not in Argos, because that would not account for its wide diffusion in other Doric communities. It seems they must have picked it up in Boeotia before they conquered the Peloponnese.

If the Attic-Ionic and Doric calendars go back to a common source in Boeotia, their origin must be placed in the Mycenaean age. This confronts us with a further question. What was the relationship between the Boeotian and Delphic calendars? Here we are at a loss, because the Boeotian material is fragmentary. It is possible to reconstruct a Boeotian calendar, as Bischoff has done, but only by combining data, mostly very late, from different states. If, however, we are to go back to the Mycenaean age, there is no reason to give Delphi priority over Thebes and Orchomenos. All we can safely say is that the Attic-Ionic and Doric calendars are derived from a prehistoric original located in Central Greece.

If this hypothesis is accepted, it provides us at once with the oriental connections which we have already been led to postulate. The Cretan affinities of the Delphic Apollo were remembered in Greek tradition,³⁴ and, as Nilsson has shown, his origin is to be sought in S.W. Anatolia,³⁵ with which Minoan Crete had early and close relations. Further, Kadmos, the founder of Thebes, was unanimously regarded as a Phoenician, connected through Europa with the Minoan dynasty of Knossos.³⁶ Many scholars have discounted this tradition on the ground that there were no Phoenicians in the Aegean before the ninth century, but the recent excavations at Ras Shamra (Ugarit) have set the whole matter in a new light.³⁷ Here, as we now know, there flourished a populous commercial city in close contact with Babylonia and the Hittites on the one hand and on the other with Minoan Crete and Mycenaean Greece. Kadmos may very well have been a Phoenician in the sense that the ancestors of the prehistoric dynasty of Thebes had come from this part of Syria, and in fact the cuneiform texts of Ugarit record a legend in which the bull El and the mother-goddess Asherat present a close parallel to Zeus and Europa.³⁸

If the Greek calendar was of Minoan-Mycenaean origin, how, it will be asked, does it come about that only one month is mentioned by name in the *Works and Days*, a poem devoted to the agricultural labours of the year, and none at all in Homer? The answer to the first part of this question is that owing to the Greek system of intercalation, which will be discussed in the next section, the calendar months were useless for the purpose of the poem, which is to pre-

³² Plu. *M.* 299e, 717a, Hsch. Ἀγρίνια.

³³ Apld. 2. 2. 2.

³⁴ Hom. *H.* 3. 388-96. The seven-stringed lyre appears on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus (Evans, *Palace of Minos* 2. 834-6).

³⁵ Nilsson *PTR* 367-8, *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion* 443-4; C. Picard, *Ephèse et Claros* 458-9, 463. With the Carian

Λητώ, 'the woman,' cf. *Mu-al-li-da-at* (Μύλιττα), 'the woman who bears,' a title of the Babylonian goddess of childbirth (Langdon *BEC* 217).

³⁶ Hdt. 5. 57, 61, Apld. 3. 1. 1.

³⁷ For the latest bibliography see S. H. Hooke, *The Origins of Early Semitic Ritual* (1938) 69-72.

³⁸ C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra* 60-1.

scribe the exact time of year at which the farmer was to undertake his various tasks. That could only be done by reference to the solar year as revealed in the apparent annual motion of the stars. In regard to the second, it is a mistake in my opinion to assume, as Nilsson does,³⁹ that the Homeric Greeks had no names for the months just because they are not mentioned in the poems. Homer's silence on this matter is in conformity with the epic tradition, which, since its aim was to present a unified, idealised picture of the heroic past, studiously avoided all mention of institutions which had only a local or contemporary interest. On this principle allusions to the calendar were necessarily excluded, because its nomenclature varied from one city-state to another.⁴⁰

To this I would add a further consideration. It is surely incredible that the Minoans, with their wide navigational experience, their highly-organised priesthood, and their advanced civic and commercial life, had failed to work out a serviceable calendar. There may, it is true, have been some loss after the fall of Knossos, and still more after the Dorian invasion, but even so the astronomical knowledge possessed by Hesiod, including as it does an acquaintance with the solstices,⁴¹ contains all the data necessary for constructing a lunisolar calendar; and where did he acquire this knowledge if not from traditions inherited from the Mycenaean age?

III. INTERCALATION

When did the Greeks begin to intercalate systematically? If we were to confine ourselves to the internal evidence, the problem would be fairly simple, though even that is not quite free from difficulties, but in view of what has been said about the origin of the Greek calendar, we are obliged to take account of intercalation in Babylonia. On this question the authorities are still sharply divided. Weidner claimed to have identified an intercalary cycle of 38 years at Ur as far back as the third millennium; Kugler denied that there was any systematic intercalation in Babylonia before 528 B.C.⁴² Accepting the latter view, and assuming quite rightly that the Babylonians must have worked out a system before the Greeks, Fotheringham concluded that there was no systematic intercalation in Greece until the fourth century. Langdon was of the same opinion.⁴³

It is impossible for me to discuss the Babylonian problem. All I can do is to re-examine the Greek evidence without prejudice.

Herodotus writes (2.4.1): "Ἕλληνες μὲν διὰ τρίτου ἔτεος ἐμβόλιμον ἐπεμβάλλουσι τῶν ὥρέων εἵνεκεν, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ τριακοντημέρους ἄγοντες τοὺς δώδεκα μῆνας ἐπάγουσι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος πέντε ἡμέρας πάρεξ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, καὶ σφι ὁ κύκλος τῶν ὥρέων ἐς τωὺτ' ὅτε περιιών παραγίνεται. In the Sliding Calendar, which is here described correctly, there was no intercalation as Herodotus understood the term, that is, no intermittent additions to the calendar year. Appreciating the convenience of this arrangement, he contrasts it with the Greek method of intercalating a month διὰ τρίτου ἔτεος. This passage, which Fotheringham and Langdon overlooked, proves that systematic intercalation was general in Greece in the fifth century B.C.

Intercalation presupposes an appreciation of the difference between the solar and calendar years, which in Greece amounted to $11\frac{1}{4}$ days. Without this knowledge there could be no question of intercalation at all. The months would drift through the seasons in a cycle of

³⁹ *PTR* 345-6.

⁴⁰ There is, it appears, one allusion to a calendar feast in the *Odyssey*. Odysseus landed in Ithaca 'at the turn of the month' (14. 162, 19. 306), when there was no moon (14. 457), and five days later the towncriers announced a festival at which a hecatomb was to be offered to Apollo Noumenios (20. 276-8, 21. 258-9 et sch.). This must have been the Hekatombaia, which was observed at Athens on the 7th of Hekatombaion (*SIG* 615) and also at Delphi (*CIG* 1715). That is why Odysseus prays to Apollo to direct his aim against the suitors (22.7), who, since there were 108 of them (16. 247-61), made a symbolic hecatomb.

⁴¹ *Op.* 479, 564, 663. The convention of the ἑνὴ καὶ νέα, designed originally to neutralise the 30th of the 'full'

months so as to adjust them to the true lunar month of $29\frac{1}{2}$ days, is said to have been introduced at Athens by Solon (*D.L.* 1. 57, *Plu. Sol.* 25), but it was already known to Hesiod (*Op.* 771, cf. Nilsson *ERBGR* 27) and is implied in the Homeric phrase (*Od.* 14. 162, 19. 306) τοῦ μὲν φθίνοντος μηνός, τοῦ δ' ἵσταμένοιο. This, taken in conjunction with what has been said in note 7, shows that the Greek calendar year of $12 \cdot 29\frac{1}{2}$ days was at least as old as the eighth century. One of the factors which gave the *Works and Days* its popularity and importance was that it made accessible to all astronomical knowledge which had hitherto been a perquisite of the priesthood.

⁴² See Nilsson *PTR* 260.

⁴³ Fotheringham 179, Langdon *BMSC* 109.

33 years, and consequently it would be impossible for them to acquire traditional associations with particular seasons. Now, Hesiod describes Lenaion as a midwinter month (*Op.* 504 μῆνα δὲ Ἀθηναίων, κάκ' ἤματα, βούδορα πάντα). This was the position of the Attic Gamelion in the fifth century and the Delian Lenaion in the third. If this verse is genuine, there was a stable relationship between the calendar and the seasons, and therefore a system of regular intercalation, as far back as Hesiod's time.

Some scholars have denied that it is genuine, and Nilsson himself has rejected it as 'a later interpolation.'⁴⁴ The termination -ών is Attic-Ionic, not Boeotian; no Boeotian month named after the Lenaia was known to Plutarch;⁴⁵ and this is the only mention of a calendar month in the poem. It seems to me that the force of these objections has been exaggerated. The Ionic termination is dictated by the epic dialect. The other Boeotian data are all many centuries later than Hesiod, and the nomenclature of the Greek calendars was subject to frequent change. The reason why this month is singled out for mention may be that, as the first after the winter solstice, it marked the opening of the Boeotian calendar year. Furthermore, if we expunge v. 504, we must do the same with vv. 557-8, where the same month is alluded to again, and then the whole of the intervening passage, which contains some characteristically Hesiodic conceits, will be left in the air. From the standpoint of textual criticism there is no case for rejecting the verse at all. And lastly, even if we do reject it, the point at issue is not materially affected. The author, if not Hesiod, must have been a rhapsode, who can hardly be placed later than the sixth century, and that will still be too early for a system of intercalation to have reached Greece from Babylonia, if none was known there before 528 B.C. For these reasons I cannot help suspecting that there is something wrong with Fotheringham's solution of the Babylonian problem.

The proper place for Lenaion was the lunation following the winter solstice. After falling there in a given year, it would fall $11\frac{1}{4}$ days earlier in the next year, and in the third year, if there was no intercalation, it would fall $22\frac{1}{2}$ days too early. On the other hand, if a month was intercalated in the second year, it would fall in the third $7\frac{1}{2}$ days too late. With the month as the intercalary unit all that could be done was to limit the range of deviation. The inconvenience of these recurrent anomalies is obvious, and it must sometimes have been found expedient to depart from the regular course of intercalation for the sake of particular occasions. We know that this was done at Rome, where the republican calendar was thrown into confusion by persistent interferences of this kind.⁴⁶ The same temptation must have made itself felt in Greece, and in Babylonia. The fact that an intercalary system was not consistently operated does not prove that it was unknown.⁴⁷

The problem that confronted the authorities, apart from these occasional considerations, was to reduce the oscillation to a minimum. In early Greece, according to Geminus, the practice had been to intercalate a month in every other year.⁴⁸ It may be conjectured that this is the principle underlying the Greek trieteric festivals, which were associated almost exclusively with Demeter and Dionysus, that is, with agriculture and viticulture. But on this system the intercalations are excessive. After eight years the calendar will have gained a whole month over the solar year. Accordingly it was modified by omitting one of the four intercalations in each octennium. This is the octennial cycle: $8 \times 365\frac{1}{4} = (8 \times 354) + (3 \times 30)$. The intercalations then fell at successive intervals of 3, 2, and 3 years—for example, in the third, fifth, and eighth years;⁴⁹ or, in other words, one and two months were inserted

⁴⁴ *ERBGK* 41, cf. *Studia de Dionysiis Atticis* 1-5.

⁴⁵ *Procl. ad loc.*, Hsch. Ἀθηναίων.

⁴⁶ W. W. Fowler, *Roman Festivals* 4.

⁴⁷ As Langdon points out, Babylonian astronomers of the sixth century had worked out the length of the lunar month to a degree of accuracy comparable with that of modern science, and 'such precise calculations were the result of more than 2000 years of observation and continuous records' (*BMSC* 11). That being so, they must have long possessed an accurate knowledge of the difference

between the solar and lunar years, which is the prerequisite for systematic intercalation.

⁴⁸ *Gem.* 8. 26 οἱ μὲν ἀρχαῖοι (sc. τῶν Ἑλλήνων) τοὺς μῆνας τριακονθημέρους ἤγον, τοὺς δὲ ἐμβολίμους παρ' ἐνιαυτόν.

⁴⁹ *Gem.* 8. 33 τοὺς ἐμβολίμους μῆνας ἔταξαν ἀγεσθαι ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ ἔτει καὶ πέμπτῳ καὶ ὀγδόῳ, δύο μὲν μῆνας μεταξύ δύο ἐτῶν πηπτόντων, ἓνα δὲ μεταξύ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἑνὸς ἀγομένου· οὐδὲν δὲ διαφέρει εἴαν καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ἔτεσι τὴν αὐτὴν διάταξιν τῶν ἐμβολίων μηνῶν ποιήσεται τις.

alternately in each quadrennium. This is what Herodotus means when he says that a month was intercalated διὰ τρίτου ἔτεος. The expression is not quite exact. He is speaking loosely, and it is all the easier for him to do so, because this phrase was ambiguous. It could mean either 'every third year' or 'every other year.'⁵⁰

In the historical period we hear of four festivals celebrated in every ninth year, all of them in the region just identified as the earliest home of the Greek calendar. They are the Daphnaphoria at Thebes, and the Charila, Stepteria, and Herois at Delphi.⁵¹ We are also told that the Pythian Games, which we know as quadrennial, had originally been a festival of this type.⁵² They were probably made quadrennial in 582 B.C., the date of the first Pythiad.⁵³

This eight-year period was termed indifferently an ὀκταετηρίς or an ἑνναετηρίς, because, as Censorinus explains, a new period began in every ninth year.⁵⁴ It corresponds to the octennial intercalary cycle.

Here we encounter an apparent contradiction in the ancient authorities, which Fotheringham used to discredit them. Censorinus says that the octennial cycle was invented by Kleostratos of Tenedos, who was a younger contemporary, possibly a pupil, of Thales. The festivals just mentioned must have been older than that. 'If,' it is argued, 'Censorinus was right in explaining the eight-yearly festivals by the ὀκταετηρίς, he was wrong in attributing the ὀκταετηρίς to Kleostratos.' The first alternative is accordingly dismissed as 'the fancy of a later age.'⁵⁵ This does not follow.

Perhaps an analogy will help. It seems inconceivable that the people who built the pyramids should not have known that a triangle whose sides stand in the ratio of 3:4:5 is right-angled; yet, although the Egyptians used equations of the type $3^2 + 4^2 = 5^2$, there is no evidence that they ever stated this truth in general terms.⁵⁶ That was done by Pythagoras. Every scientific discovery has a history behind it, and some have been applied in practice long before receiving a correct theoretical formulation. Indeed, the achievement of the early Greek scientists seems to have consisted largely in this—in the theoretical interpretation of empirical knowledge acquired from Egypt and Babylonia. It may be suggested therefore that what Kleostratos did was to state the formula for the octennial cycle, which had long been operated but only by rule of thumb.

It is possible that he did more than that. Censorinus says that there were several forms of the octennial cycle, which differed from one another in the distribution of the intercalary months, and he ascribes them to various scientists, one of whom is Kleostratos. Thus, we may accept him as the inventor of a particular form of the cycle without denying that the cycle had been known in some form long before.

This conclusion, that at least in Central Greece the octennial cycle went back to the Mycenaean age, does not of course exclude the possibility that in other parts of the country it remained unknown, or unused, until a much later date.

IV. THE OLYMPIC GAMES

The Pythian Games were held on the 7th of Boukatios.⁵⁷ Since the octennium contains 99 months, they must have fallen at alternate intervals of 49 and 50 months; and in order to keep them in the same calendar month it was necessary that one month should be intercalated in the quadrennium of 49 months and two months in the quadrennium of 50 months. The reason why they were held on the 7th is of course that this day, marking the first lunar quarter,

⁵⁰ See L. and S., and cf. Hdt. 1. 32. 3 τοῦτερον τῶν ἑτέρων μὴν μακρότερον γίνεσθαι.

⁵¹ Procl. *Chr.* 26, Paus. 9. 10. 4, Plu. *M.* 293c, 418a, Ael. *VH* 3. 1.

⁵² Cens. *VD* 18. 6. The Pythia began as a music festival (Str. 421) correlated with the Stepteria both in myth and ritual (*FHG* 2. 189, 4. 539, Ael. *VH* 3. 1). There was an ἑνναετηρικός ἀγών in Pisidia as late as the 2-3rd cent. A.D. (*BSA* 16. 117).

⁵³ Nilsson *PTR* 364-5.

⁵⁴ Cens. *VD* 18. 4 octaeteris facta, quae tunc ennaeteris vocitata, quia primus eius annus novo quoque anno redibat.

⁵⁵ Fotheringham 176. He adds: 'And in fact it is easier to explain the festival periods as mere powers of two. We have two-year festivals, and four-year festivals, and eight-year festivals.' This explanation explains nothing.

⁵⁶ R. W. Sloley, 'Science,' *Legacy of Egypt* 171.

⁵⁷ Farnell, *Cults* 4. 421.

was sacred to Apollo. In practice, however, owing to the difference between the Greek calendar month of 29.50 days and the true lunar month of 29.53 days, the dates of the lunar phases varied slightly from month to month. The connection of the 7th with the first quarter was therefore formal.

The Olympic Games were also held at alternate intervals of 49 and 50 months. For this we have the explicit statements of Porphyry and the Pindaric scholiasts, which are confirmed by an allusion in Bakchylides.⁵⁸ But they differed from the Pythia in two respects.

We are told that they lasted five days, from the 11th to the 16th, and that they were held at full moon, which fell nominally on the 15th. Pindar speaks of the full moon shining when the first race was run by their founder, Herakles. It is probable therefore that they were held at the actual full moon, like the Spartan Karneia,⁵⁹ the dates mentioned being nominal. For a panhellenic event this arrangement would have the advantage that its date could be calculated without reference to the local calendar.

Secondly, instead of keeping to the same month, like the Pythian Games, they fell alternately in Apollonios and Parthenios. Apollonios was the eighth month after Thosythias,⁶⁰ the month of the winter solstice, and Parthenios must have been the ninth, because we are told that these two months corresponded respectively to Messori and Thot, which were consecutive months in the Egyptian calendar. Apollonios was therefore the Delphic Boukatios and the Attic Metageitnion.

Weniger's explanation of this rule, adopted by Cornford, is well known.⁶¹ It is that, if the Games had been held regularly in Apollonios, they would have interfered with an older quadrennial festival, the Heraia, which was fixed at the new moon of Parthenios. To obviate this difficulty they were placed a fortnight before and a fortnight after the Heraia in alternate Olympiads.

In my *Aeschylus and Athens* I accepted this hypothesis, but I am now convinced that it is untenable. It may be conceded that Parthenios is named after Hera Parthenos, and, though we have no information on this point, that this was the month of the Heraia; but the only support for the further assumption that the feast was held at the new moon is a statement to the effect that the new moon was sacred to Juno at Rome.⁶² The truth is that the date of the Heraia is unknown; and, even if it were as Weniger supposed, it would still be necessary to explain why the juxtaposition of the two feasts, if it caused any difficulty, was not avoided by the simple expedient of rearranging the quadrennia so that they never fell in the same year.

Fotheringham explained the rule by denying that it was a rule at all. He supposed that the alternation of 49 and 50 moons was not a regular procedure but 'merely meant that there was sometimes an intercalation between Thosythias and the Games and sometimes not'.⁶³ This is impossible. Not only is it directly contradicted by Porphyry (ἐναλλάξ ἀγομένων διὰ ν' μηνῶν καὶ διὰ μθ') but, if intercalation had been unsystematic, as he is trying to prove, the normal interval between two celebrations would not have been 49 or 50 months but 48.

Nilsson rejects Fotheringham's view, but his own is far from clear:

Originally the Olympic festival was not fixed according to the calendar, but the date was simply arranged by the numbering of the months of the ὀκταετηρίς, in which the first half was given 50 months and the second 49. In the calendrical ὀκταετηρίς, on the other

⁵⁸ Porph. *ad Il.* 10. 252 καὶ τῶν Ὀλυμπίων δὲ ἐναλλάξ ἀγομένων διὰ ν' μηνῶν καὶ μθ', οἱ ποιηταὶ πεντηκοντάμην φασὶ τὴν πανηγυρίαν εἶναι, Ba. 7. 2-3 πεντήκοντα μῆνες ἀγαγον ἑκαδικάταν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, Pi. O. 3. 33 sch. Ambr. (Weniger's text) περὶ τοῦ χρόνου καθ' ὃν ἀγεται τὰ Ὀλύμπια καθ' ἑκάστην Ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ Κώμαρχος ὁ τὰ περὶ Ἡλείων συντάξας φησὶν οὕτως· ἀρχεν νομηνίαν μηνος ὃς Θωσυθιάς ἐν Ἡλίδι ὀνομάζεται, περὶ ὃν τροπαὶ ἡλίου γίνονται χειμεριναί, καὶ πρῶτα Ὀλύμπια ἀγεται ἡ μηνὶ ἐνὸς διαφερόντων τῇ ὥρᾳ, τὰ μὲν ἀρχομένης τῆς ὁπώρας, τὰ δὲ ὑπ' αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀρκτοῦρον, 35 sch. γίνεται δὲ ὁ ἀγὼν ποτὲ μὲν διὰ ν' μηνῶν, ποτὲ δὲ διὰ μθ'. ὁθεν καὶ ποτὲ μὲν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ μηνί, ποτὲ δὲ τῷ Παρθενίῳ, παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις δὲ Μεσῳρί ἢ Θῶθ, ἐπιτε-

λείται, 5. 14. sch. ἐπὶ πέντε ἡμέρας ἦγετο αὐτὰ τὰ ἀγωνίσματα, ἀπὸ ἐνδεκάτης μέχρι ἑκαδικάτης, 3. 35. sch. διχόμηνης ἢ σελήνης, ἐπεὶ ἐν τῷ πανσελήνῳ ὁ Ὀλυμπιακὸς ἀγὼν ἀγεται.

⁵⁹ E. *Ilc.* 445-51.

⁶⁰ Θωσυθιάς may be corrupt. Διόσβυος Boeckh. Θεωδαΐσιος would be closer to the text.

⁶¹ L. Weniger, 'Das Hochfest des Zeus in Olympia,' *Klio* 5. 1; F. M. Cornford, 'The Origin of the Olympic Games,' *Harrison Themis* 212.

⁶² Jo. *Lyd. de mens.* 36.

⁶³ Fotheringham 178.

hand, there is an intercalation once in the first half and twice in the second, *i.e.*, the first four years have 49 months and the next four 50. Hence it follows that, when the old custom was to be preserved in regard to the date, the month of the festival necessarily varied in the given manner. When the chronological arrangement of the Olympic Games was introduced, the *ὀκταετηρίς* calendar therefore was not known, but only the *ὀκταετηρίς* period.⁶⁴

Seeing that the octennial period of 99 months includes three intercalary months, it is difficult to understand his distinction between that period and the corresponding calendar cycle; and since there is nothing in the cycle which demands that the third intercalary month should be assigned to one quadrennium rather than the other, it would have been open to the authorities to distribute the intercalations in such a way as to keep the feast in step with the calendar. The problem remains.

Nevertheless, although not clearly thought out, Nilsson's account of the matter is, I believe, on the right lines. He is right in insisting, as against Weniger and Fotheringham, that the rule arose from some peculiarity in the intercalary system. Before pursuing this question we must take account of some general considerations.

In the first place, the vacillation of the festival in the local calendar was of no concern to the vast majority of those attending it, who came from all corners of the Greek world. All they knew, or needed to know, was that it took place at alternate intervals of 49 and 50 lunations, so that, given the date of one celebration, they could always calculate any other simply by counting the appropriate number of moons.

Secondly, we may presume that the Games had existed in a rudimentary form long before 776 B.C., which was the traditional date of their foundation. It is true that hitherto the Altis has been singularly unproductive in Mycenaean remains, but this negative evidence is not decisive, and there are two considerations to set against it. According to the local tradition the Games were founded by the Idaean Herakles, who came from Crete.⁶⁵ Pindar, on the other hand, says they were founded by the other Herakles from Argos. Now, on the former hypothesis it is easy to see how after the Dorian conquest, and still more after the Argive hegemony of Pheidon, the credit came to be transferred to the Dorian, Argive Herakles; but on the alternative view it becomes extremely difficult to explain how this full-blooded hero was induced to withdraw in favour of the faded partner of the Minoan mother-goddess. Further, the Idaean Cave on the Hill of Kronos, the Hill of Kronos itself with its priest-kings, the Basilai, and its cult of Eileithyia and the snake—all these point clearly to the Mycenaean age and particularly to Crete, and they are paralleled in various parts of Arcadia by a number of local cults referring to Rhea and the birth of Zeus.⁶⁶

Since the Pythian Games were originally octennial, they must have always been a calendar feast, with no direct functional relation to the agricultural year. But there is no reason to suppose that the Olympic Games had ever been octennial. Their dependence on the octennial cycle is due simply to the fact that this cycle formed the basis of the calendar. Now, it is quite intelligible that an octennial feast should have been instituted to mark the conclusion of an octennial cycle, but there was no such thing as a quadrennial cycle and consequently no *raison d'être* in the calendar for a quadrennial feast. The quadrennial basis of the Olympic Games must therefore have been determined by some extraneous factor. If the festival was to attract competitors from other states, there was an obvious objection to holding it every year. It would have clashed constantly with similar local events established elsewhere. The Spartan Karneia, for example, took place at the same full moon.⁶⁷ Accordingly, I believe that the Games began as an annual seasonal feast and were made quadrennial in 776 B.C.,

⁶⁴ PTR 365.

⁶⁵ Paus. 5. 7. 6, quoting 'Ηλείων οἱ τὰ ἀρχαιότατα μνημονεύοντες.

⁶⁶ Paus. 8. 28. 2, 38. 2, 41. 2, Str. 387, cf. Paus. 4. 31. 9,

33. 1. They may have been brought to the Peloponnese by the Kydones (Str. 348, *Od.* 19. 176).

⁶⁷ Nilsson, *Griechische Feste* 118.

the date from which the Olympiads were counted, in order to give them a panhellenic status.⁶⁸

Apollonios, corresponding to the Attic Metageitnion and the Spartan Karneios, was the month of the fruit harvest, which falls normally towards the end of August. The Olympic prize of victory was a crown of wild olive, plucked from the sacred trees that grew in the Altis; and it was said that the Idaean Herakles and his companions used to rest after their exercises on beds of olive leaves.⁶⁹ For these reasons it is probable that the primitive nucleus of the Games was a festival consecrated to the fruit harvest.

Throughout antiquity the religious administration of the Games was in the hands of two priestly clans, the Iamidai and the Klytiadai. The Iamidai can be traced to N.W. Anatolia.⁷⁰ The Klytiadai claimed descent from Melampous, which means that they had come from the Boeotian Orchomenos.⁷¹ Yet, despite the prestige of Olympia, Elis never attained a position of any political importance. With the exception of its Arcadian hinterland it was always the most backward state in the Peloponnese. As late as the fifth century its people were still living, 'after the old Hellenic fashion' as Thucydides expresses it, in open village communities.⁷² Here, therefore, an ancient sacerdotal tradition, derived in part from one of the main centres of Mycenaean civilisation, was combined with a simple rural economy. These considerations suggest that the local calendar, which was of course controlled by the priesthood, may have preserved some archaic features; and on this supposition the Olympian rule can, I think, be explained.

The function of the octennial cycle was, as we have seen, to reconcile the calendar with the solar year. When first instituted, it must have proceeded from what was regarded as the proper relation between the two. Let us take as an example the form of the cycle in which a month is intercalated at the end of the third, fifth, and eighth years, and see how a festival fixed by the calendar will change position in the solar year. Assuming that in the first year the harvest moon is full on August 22, we get the following dates for the harvest festival in the ensuing years: (2) Aug. 11, (3) Aug. 1, (4) Aug. 18, (5) Aug. 7, (6) Aug. 27, (7) Aug. 16, (8) Aug. 4, (9) Aug. 23.⁷³ It will be seen that in the second, third, fifth, and eighth years the festival falls 11, 21, 15, and 18 days before the harvest is normally ready. This difficulty could be surmounted by applying the principle of the movable feast, which must have been a familiar one in the days when systematic intercalation had been unknown. In these years the festival was postponed to the next full moon.

If this was the practice established at Olympia when the Games were made quadrennial, the result of that reorganisation would have been the Olympian rule as we know it:

Apoll.	Parth.	
1. Aug. 22		
5.	Sept. 6	50th month
9. Aug. 23		49th month.

This hypothesis meets the case, but, considering the paucity of our data, it will perhaps be wiser to state it in more general terms. It is simply this. When the Olympic festival was made quadrennial, it had, for the reasons given, fluctuated between the two months for so long that both were regarded as consecrated to it, and therefore it was divided between them.⁷⁴

⁶⁸ An intermediate stage in the same process can be seen in the Lesser (annual) and Greater (quadrennial) Panathenaia.

⁶⁹ Paus. 5. 7. 7, 15. 3. Str. 353.

⁷⁰ Iamos was a son of Euadna, daughter of Pitana (Pi. O. 6. 28-30. cf. Paus. 6. 2. 5), and Eurotas, father of Pitana, was a son of Lelex (Apld. 3. 10. 13, king of the Spartan Leleges (Paus. 3. 1. 1). Pitana was a Spartan townland (Paus. 3. 16. 9) and repeats Pitana in N.W. Anatolia (Str. 587. 607), which was one of the main centres of the Leleges (Str. 605-10). The termination -σπος is Anatolian (Kretschmer, *Geschichte der griechischen Sprache* 325). I hope to

deal elsewhere with the origin and distribution of the Leleges.

⁷¹ Paus. 6. 17. 6. cf. SIG 1021. 12.

⁷² Str. 336-7, cf. Plb. 4. 73. 7.

⁷³ The dates, which are merely *exempli gratia*, are taken from Weniger's table (21). I have illustrated my argument from the 3-5-8 form of the cycle, because that appears to have been the one in general use (see note 49), but the other possible variants would serve as well.

⁷⁴ The month of the Games, whether Apollonios or Parthenios, was called Ὀλυμπικός (Inscr. Olymp. 8; Weniger 8).

Weniger admitted that the effect of the rule was to keep the festival closer to the harvest, but considered that this factor was not important enough to account for its origin.⁷⁵ If the rule had been introduced after the Games had been made quadrennial, this consideration would hold good, but my contention is that it had come down from earlier times. And if we ask why such an arrangement is found only at Olympia, the answer lies in the specific historical conditions. The Olympic Games were established at an earlier date than any other quadrennial feast known to us, and they were established in an exceptionally backward community under the control of an ancient priesthood. The Olympian rule represents the application of the octennial cycle to a calendar which retained its primitive seasonal function and consequently was not fixed. And once established it was never altered. It was hallowed by antiquity, and it served its purpose.

Yet, although as it stands the rule is unique, the principle of subordinating the calendar to the season, which is its distinctive and archaic feature, can be found elsewhere. In the cult of Zeus Sosipolis at Magnesia, the bull was to be sacrificed on the 12th of Artemision (μηνὸς τοῦ Ἀρτεμισιῶνος τῇ δωδεκάτῃ). The naming of a specific date shows that the state of the moon was disregarded. The presentation, on the other hand, was fixed by reference to the new moon of the sowing month (ἀρχομένου σπόρου μηνὸς Κρονιῶνος ἐν τῇ νοσηνίᾳ), which means that the calendar date must have varied from year to year. This too was a movable feast.

This solution of the problem cannot be regarded as certain. In the present state of knowledge certainty is impossible. All that can be claimed for it is that it is more probable than Weniger's, clearer than Nilsson's, and as simple as the problem allows.

V. THE OCTENNIAL AND THE KINGSHIP

If I am right in my main contention, that the octennial cycle goes back to the Mycenaean age, we are free to accept without reserve the numerous indications in Greek mythology of a connection between the octennium and the kingship.

Every ninth year the tenure of the Spartan kings was confirmed by the ephors after inspecting the stars.⁷⁶ This was doubtless an ancient custom which the Dorians had brought with them from Central Greece.

Every ninth year King Minos used to retire to the Cave of Zeus to commune with his god.⁷⁷ Every ninth year the Athenians used to send him a sacrificial tribute of seven boys and seven girls.⁷⁸ That this myth of Theseus and the Minotaur has a historical foundation is, I think, certain. It was enacted in the Crane Dance, imitating the windings of the Labyrinth, before the Horned Altar of Apollo at Delos.⁷⁹ The date of the dance is not given, but it was probably performed on the 7th of Thargelion during the festival which celebrated the birth of Apollo and Artemis.⁸⁰ This would explain the number of the victims, seven for Apollo and seven for Artemis; and the 6th of Thargelion was the day on which the Athenians despatched their annual pilgrimage to Delos in commemoration of their deliverance from the tribute.⁸¹ At Athens too a festival began on the 6th. This was the Thargelia, in which two human victims were put to death, one on behalf of the men, the other on behalf of the women; and according to tradition this rite was instituted to expiate the death of Androgeos, who was a son of Minos.⁸² All this suggests very strongly that the myth of the Minotaur and the ritual of the Thargelia were founded on customs of vicarious sacrifice in connection with the kingship such as we find in Babylonia and Egypt.⁸³

⁷⁵ Weniger 19.

⁷⁶ Plu. *Agis* 11.

⁷⁷ *Od.* 19. 178-9, Pl. *Min.* 319c. *Legg.* 624a-b, Str. 476, 482, D.S. 5. 78.

⁷⁸ Plu. *Thes.* 15. The tribute is also described as annual: Verg. *A.* 6. 21.

⁷⁹ Plu. *Thes.* 21, Call. *Del.* 307-13, *Il.* 18. 590-606.

⁸⁰ Hsch. θαργῆλια, D.L. 2. 44, Anon. *Plat.* 6 Cobet,

Plu. *M.* 717d.

⁸¹ X. *Mem.* 4. 8. 2, Pl. *Phdo* 58a-b.

⁸² D.L. 2. 44, Phot. *Lex.* φαρμακος, Suid. φαρμακός, Phot. *Bibl.* 534 Bekker.

⁸³ Hooke, *Early Semitic Ritual* 10-16; Langdon *BEC* 34-49. 57-9, 215-7; G. A. Wainwright, *The Sky-Religion in Egypt* (1938).

This gives us the clue to the octennial festivals of Thebes and Delphi, which are connected by internal evidence with both the calendar and the kingship. At the Daphnaphoria the girls carried in procession an olive trunk decorated with pendant balls as symbols of the sun, moon, and stars, and with 365 chaplets representing the solar year.⁸⁴ At the Stepteria the hut in which Apollo's fight with Python was enacted represented a royal palace.⁸⁵ The duel between Apollo and the dragon of Delphi may therefore be compared with the duel between Marduk and the monster Tiamat, symbolising the king's triumph over his enemies, which was celebrated at the New Year festival in Babylon,⁸⁶ and with the sham fight that had the same significance in the Egyptian feast of Khoiakh and was projected in myth as the duel between Osiris and Seth.⁸⁷

There are many indications that nine was a sacred number in Minoan–Mycenean religion. The excavations at Pergamon have revealed, adjacent to the temple of Demeter, a terrace of nine steps. Another terrace of nine steps has been found outside the temple of the same goddess at Lykosoura. The Minoan origin of Demeter is generally recognised. At Lato in Crete there is yet another terrace of nine steps, and here it is in the market-place.⁸⁸ In Minoan Crete such terraces were always contiguous to the king's palace, which normally faced on to the market-place, like Priam's palace at Troy and the στοὰ βασιλῆως at Athens.⁸⁹ The purpose for which they were designed is still a matter of conjecture. Perhaps they served to accommodate groups of priests as superintendents of choral performances, like the nine αἰσυνῆται who directed the dance in the market-place at Phaeacia.⁹⁰ Whether these officials stood in any definite relation to the kingship is not clear, but we are justified in inferring that, at least in prehistoric times, their number had a functional value, and that the institution was sufficiently widespread to survive as a sacred precedent in the historical period; for it can scarcely be an accident that these nine αἰσυνῆται are paralleled by the nine ἑλλανοδῖκαι who supervised the Olympic Games and the nine ἄρχοντες who succeeded to the Athenian kingship.⁹¹

Again, when Telemachos landed in Pylos, Nestor and his people were engaged in sacrificing nine groups of nine bulls, corresponding to the nine territories of his kingdom.⁹² These were probably tribal divisions, like the three 'ninth' (ἐνάται) into which each of the three Dorian tribes was divided at Kos and Sparta. At Kos the bull sacrificed to Zeus Polieus was selected from twenty-seven bulls presented by the tribes, three from each ἐνάτα.⁹³ At Sparta nine huts were erected for the Karneia, each accommodating nine men, three from each phratry.⁹⁴

In other cases the number had no functional value, being chosen simply for the sake of its traditional associations. No further explanation is needed for the nine Muses, the nine Kouretes who tended the infant Zeus,⁹⁵ the nine days' purification at Lemnos, or the nine boys and nine girls who headed the procession when the bull was presented to Zeus Sosipolis at Magnesia;⁹⁶ and when we read that Bellerophon was feasted in Lycia for nine days on nine oxen, and that animals were selected for sacrifice at the age of nine years,⁹⁷ the inference is that the perfect number was regarded as appropriate for a perfect feast or a perfect sacrifice.

Lastly, since at the end of the octennium sun, moon, and stars were back where they had been at the beginning, the octennial period became a symbol of universal renewal and regeneration, a world cycle of birth, death, and resurrection. Herakles laboured for eight years to expiate the murder of his children.⁹⁸ Kadmos served a penance of eight years for the slaughter of the Theban dragon.⁹⁹ In the ninth year Persephone released the souls of the dead, who

⁸⁴ Procl. *Chr.* 26, cf. Paus. 9. 10. 4.

⁸⁵ Plu. *M.* 418a.

⁸⁶ Langdon *BEC* 12–31.

⁸⁷ A. M. Blackman, 'Myth and Ritual in Ancient Egypt,' *Myth and Ritual* 22–3.

⁸⁸ F. J. Tritsch, 'Die Agora von Elis und die altgriechische Agora,' *Jahresh. d. ost. arch. Inst.* 27. 83, 100.

⁸⁹ *Il.* 2. 788–9, cf. Tritsch 98, 102.

⁹⁰ *Od.* 8. 258–9, cf. 109.

⁹¹ The ἑλλανοδῖκαι are expressly described as ἐπόπται of the Games (Paus. 5. 9. 5) in keeping with my interpretation of that term (*Aeschylus and Athens* 125–6).

⁹² *Od.* 3. 5–8, *Il.* 2. 591–601, cf. *Od.* 3. 7 sch.; Glotz, *La cité grecque* 44. These figures have been carefully

calculated. The total of 9 × 500 men on the beach corresponds to the strength of the contingent (90 × 50).

⁹³ *SIG* 1025.

⁹⁴ *Ath.* 141e–f.

⁹⁵ *Str.* 473.

⁹⁶ Philostr. *Her.* 740; *SIG* 589.

⁹⁷ *Il.* 6. 174, *Od.* 10. 19, 390, cf. *Il.* 18. 351, Theoc. 26. 29, Hes. *Op.* 436.

⁹⁸ *Apld.* 2. 5. 11 ἐν μηνὶ καὶ ἔτεσιν ὀκτώ. I do not understand the extra month. Was the ἑκατόμβη originally a sacrifice of 99 oxen, corresponding to the months of the ὀκταετηρίς?

⁹⁹ *Apld.* 3. 4. 2, cf. Serv. *ad Verg. A.* 7. 761, Hes. *Th.* 801.

were born again to be 'exalted as wise men, athletes, and kings, and to be remembered on earth as sanctified heroes for ever.'¹⁰⁰

If the number nine was based on the octennium, whence came the sanctity attaching to the number seven? In Egypt there were two kingship cycles, one of nine years and one of seven. The former was introduced from the north, the latter was indigenous.¹⁰¹ We have seen that seven was also a sacred number in Babylonia. The Babylonian kingship cycle, so far as I know, has not yet been identified. There may have been more than one, as there was in Egypt. With regard to the number seven, it might be supposed that it derived its sanctity, at least in Babylonia, from the four lunar quarters. But, as Nilsson has pointed out, the quadrupartite division of the month cannot have arisen from simple observation; it 'is in its very nature a numerical system.'¹⁰² It is possible therefore that the reverse was the case—that the month was divided by the sacred number. Now, if the Minoan ἐνναετηρίς was founded on the octennial cycle, it may be surmised that the Egyptian ἑπταετηρίς and the Babylonian hebdomad go back to a cycle of six years of 360 days, supplemented by the intercalation of one month: $(6 \times 360) + 30 = 6 \times 365$. The two cycles would then correspond to the two different types of calendar. But this is no more than a conjecture.

However this may be, it is clear that the Minoan kingship, like the Babylonian and the Egyptian, had its origin in agrarian magic. As high priest of the community, the king had in his hands the regulation of the calendar, which determined the agricultural labour of the year,¹⁰³ and, since the people were thus dependent on him for their crops, their wealth, their health, for life itself, they worshipped him as a god.¹⁰⁴

VI. CONCLUSION.

Let me end with a word of warning. It would be a mistake to assume that every instance of the number nine in a sacral context is to be referred, even remotely, to the octennium. In particular cases, of course, it may have been determined by purely adventitious factors. That goes without saying, but what I have in mind is something different. The Iobakchoi used to meet on the ninth of every month.¹⁰⁵ This has nothing to do with the octennium. It marks the beginning of the second third of the moon, in which it came to the full; and no doubt it was for the same reason that the Karneia, which were held at full moon, lasted nine days.¹⁰⁶ Similarly, when we read that, at the time of the rape of Persephone, Hekate was 'in her cave', that is, invisible, and that she appeared to Demeter, torch in hand, nine days later,¹⁰⁷ the reference is clearly to the last third, the period of the waning moon, when the women used to sacrifice to Hekate at the cross-roads¹⁰⁸ and wail in imitation of Demeter.¹⁰⁹ From this and other evidence it is clear that the sanctity of the number nine goes back beyond the octennial cycle to the primitive lunar calendar. The lunar significance of the number has been studied very thoroughly by Roscher.¹¹⁰ Though unable to accept his conclusions as they stand, I think he has proved that beneath Greek religion there lies a substratum of pre-agricultural moon-worship. This, however, must be reserved for another occasion. I mention it here only to guard against misunderstanding.

GEORGE THOMSON

¹⁰⁰ Pi. fr. 133, cf. Orph. fr. 295; Rohde, *Psyche* 2. 211.

¹⁰¹ Wainwright 91, cf. Hooke, *Early Semitic Ritual* 40.

¹⁰² *PTT* 171.

¹⁰³ This, I take it, is what was meant by 'the fixing of the fates,' which was done at the Babylonian New Year festival by the king as the earthly representative of Marduk (Gadd 55-6; Hooke, *Early Semitic Ritual* 18-19). In an Assyrian text the king is instructed to 'seek the place of the celestial equator, and thou shalt know the days to be filled in, and then fix thou the year and complete its supplement' (Langdon *BMSC* 108-9).

¹⁰⁴ The Sumerian king was regarded as the earthly 'tenant' of the divine king, i.e. the local god (Gadd 61), which means that the god was a projection of the kingship. The Egyptian king prayed for life, health, and wealth in

order that he might pass them on to his subjects (Blackman 25). Among the Jukuns of Nigeria, when a new king is proclaimed, the people fall down before him and cry, 'Our crops! our rain! our health! our wealth!' (C. K. Meek, *A Sudanese Kingdom* 137).

¹⁰⁵ *SIG* 1109. 42.

¹⁰⁶ Ath. 141f; Nilsson, *Griechische Feste* 119 n. 3.

¹⁰⁷ Hom. *H.* 2. 25, 51-2.

¹⁰⁸ Harp. ἑσθῆμις, A. Ch. 97 sch., Plu. *M.* 708-9, Ar. *Pl.* 594 sch., Poll. 5. 163, Thphr. *Char.* 16. 17, Ath. 325a.

¹⁰⁹ Apul. *Met.* 11. 2, Serv. *ad Verg.* A. 4. 609, E. 3. 26, cf. Paus. 1. 43. 2, and see Cornford, *Ἀπαρχαί, Essays and Studies Presented to W. Ridgeway*, 161.

¹¹⁰ See the bibliography in his *Lexikon* 4. 646 and his *Selene und Verwandtes* (1890).

GROUPS OF CAMPANIAN RED-FIGURE

THE material I have had before me in this essay is comparatively scanty. Like many other students, I have not paid very much attention to Campanian in the past; and I am now dependent on published reproductions, a few photographs, a few originals, and not many notes of all the originals no longer accessible. Most of the reproductions published hitherto are poor or incomplete. The great majority of the vases come from irregular excavation, with no record of the circumstances in which they were found; and even where the search has been properly conducted, the published reports, with a few exceptions, are not fully illustrated. All this to explain gaps, errors, hesitations: not to crave indulgence.

THE OWL-PILLAR GROUP.

We begin with what may be called the Owl-Pillar Group, from the subject of two well-known vases. A list was given in *Vases in Poland*, p. 77, and the style characterised. The present list is more detailed, and includes additions. Most of the Berlin examples had already been put together by Furtwängler in his catalogue.

There seems to be no information about the contexts in which any of these vases were found. They imitate, in a semi-barbarous style, Attic originals from the second and third quarters of the fifth century. They have no connexion with Campanian vase-painting of the fourth century; but they are red-figured vases, and the finding-places, taken as a whole, point to their having been made in Campania: so they may serve as a curtain-raiser.

I do not pretend to understand all the subjects.

My thanks are due to Miss Richter, Dr. L. D. Caskey, Sir John Forsdyke, and Mr. E. T. Leeds for permission to publish vases in New York, Boston, London, Oxford; to Miss Richter and Dr. Caskey for sending me photographs of vases in New York and Boston; to Miss Richter for the photograph Fig. 12 also; to Dr. Paul Jacobsthal for the photographs Figs. 2 and 17.

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Pace, *Arte e civiltà della Sicilia antica ii* (1938), 464-78.

Neck-amphorae.

With figures.

1. London F148. Passeri pl. 249; Hancarville 3 pl. 94, whence Gerhard *Ak. Abh.* pl. 20, 4-6. A, Herakles supporting the heavens, and a woman (Hera?). B, Atlas and Hesperid.
2. Lost. *Philologus* 1868 (Jahn *Satyr und Satyrdrama auf Vasen*) pl. 3. A, Perseus and Polydektes. B, youth, woman, and Eros.
3. London F147, from Basilicata. Angelini pl. 29, whence Cook *Zeus* iii, 350; Raoul-Rochette pl. 64; Panofka *Pourt.* pl. 22, whence Cook *Zeus* iii, 352; Cook *Zeus* iii pl. 34. A, Pandora and Epimetheus. B, uncertain subject: man, and pithos-like vessel from which a female head issues.
4. Berlin 2991, from Nola. A, winged man (Thanatos?) and Hermes. B, Athena and youth.
5. Marseilles 1369. A, Cook *Zeus* iii pl. 18 (see Nock in *Cl. Phil.* 1943, 51). A, uncertain subject: youth at a pithos, from which a man's head issues. B, youth and child.
6. Chicago, Univ., from Nola. Minervini *Mon. Barone* pl. 12, 4. A, uncertain subject: woman, and the upper part of a youth on a tree-trunk. B, youth and woman.



FIG. 1.—FROM PASSERI, PL. 73.

7. Naples market (Gargiulo). Gerhard *Ant. Bildwerke* pl. 51. A, man with kantharos, and child, at altar: B, child standing on an altar, and man.
8. Berlin 2992, from Nola. A, mounted Amazon; B, Amazons fleeing.
9. Yale 325. Baur pl. 18, below. Centauromachy.
10. Berlin 2993, from Nola. A, Cook *Zeus* iii pl. 60. A, man at pillar with owl on it. B, women.
11. Berlin 2994, from Nola. A, youth at column with bird on it. B, youth.
12. Leningrad (St. 1598). A, *Compte-rendu* 1866, 77, whence Oikonomos *De profusionum receptaculis* 27 (whence Ferri *Divinità ignote* 28) and Cook *Zeus* iii, 388. A, owl and siren on pillars. B, man and woman. The pot between the two pillars on A is not 'half sunk in the ground' (Stephani in *C.R.* 1866 p. 38: Oikonomos p. 27; Ferri p. 28; Cook p. 387): it is a mug with reeded body, goffering at the junction of body and neck, and slightly offset foot, like many that have been preserved (e.g. Cambridge 191, *CV.* pl. 41, 9; Cambridge 192, *CV.* pl. 41, 10; Copenhagen ABC 1037, *CV.* pl. 178, 6).
13. Vienna SK. 232. A, satyr mounted on a horse, both nearly frontal.
14. Cab. Méd. 874. A.Z. 1863 pl. 174; B, de Ridder 517. A, warrior leaving home (warrior, woman, and little boy). B, man and woman, with a volute-krater between.

15. Amsterdam inv. 3404. A, Tillyard pl. 29, 204; *Gids* pl. 79. A, warrior leaving home (warrior and woman). B, youth and woman.
16. Naples 3141. A phot. Sommer 11,069, i, 1. A, warrior leaving home (warrior and woman). B, two youths.
17. Dresden 320. A, warrior leaving home (warrior and woman). B, man and youth?
18. Bologna PU. 411. *CV*. IV Er pl. 1, 1-2. A, warrior leaving home (warrior and woman). B, two women. Better style.
19. Berkeley, from Capua. *CV*. pl. 30, 2. A, warrior leaving home (warrior and woman). B, the like. Better style, *cf.* the last.
20. Berlin 2995. A, warrior. B, youth seated.
21. Berlin 2990, from Pomarico. Detail of B, *Jh.* 18, beibl., 245. A, girl dancing and woman fluting. B, woman spinning and Eros.
22. London F146. A, girl dancing and woman fluting. B, youth and woman.
23. Vatican. A, a woman with a hydria on her head approaching a pithos, and an old man.
24. London F145, from Nola? *Mus. Blacas* pl. 24, whence *El.* 2 pl. 54. A, youth and bull. B, youth riding. Better style. The youth on A is doubtless imitated from a Nolan amphora or other small Attic vase—for instance, one by the Phiale painter—and the rider from another Attic vase.
25. Catania? (once Catania, Museo dei Benedettini). Passeri pl. 73. I reproduce Passeri's artless drawing (Fig. 1). A, man and seated youth. B, woman at laver. The quaint group on A seems to be imitated from an Attic picture of a boy singing and a youth or man accompanying him on the flute: *cf.*, for example, the neck-amphora Brussels R339 (*CV*. III Ic pl. 15, 1), or the Nolan amphora by the Oionokles Painter in the Lamb collection. Passeri may have increased the confusion. B will go back to the same sort of Attic design as a Boeotian bell-krater (group of the Würzburg Scylla) in New York (*Sambon Coll. Canessa* p. 76).
26. London F144, from Nola. A, two youths. B, two youths.
27. Naples 3144. A, woman with iynx, and youth. B, youth and woman.
28. Leningrad (ex Academy). Drawing R.I. M35 and X. 5. A, youth and woman, and part of a ship. B, youth and woman at laver.
29. Paris market (Ghurekian). A, *Coll. Ghurekian* (19-20 mars 1923) pl. 6, 19. A, man, and woman with phiale.
30. Naples 3138, from Ruvo. A, youth at altar. B, two women.
31. Castle Ashby, the Marquess of Northampton, from Nola. A, man at krater. B, woman, column.
32. Berlin 2989, from Pomarico. A, athlete. B, boxer.

With a band of black pattern.

33. Boston 03.817. A, Hambidge *Diagonal* 53 fig. 5b.
34. Naples. A, phot. Sommer 11,018, viii, 9. As the last.
35. Oxford 1927. 4599 (ex Stuart Jones), from Suessula.
36. Oxford 1925. 671.
37. Berne 12220.

With a white band.

38. Munich A1072.
39. Berlin 3009, from Nola.

Black.

40. Berne 12217.
41. Copenhagen.
42. Munich.
43. Dresden.
44. New York.
45. New York.
46. Oxford, from Nola.
47. Palermo.
48. Once Revelstoke, 63 (ex Hope: later, Spink).

Hydriai.

With figures.

49. Naples (one number, 2517), from Telese. Athena and warrior at altar.
50. Bologna PU. 419. *CV* IV Er pl. 1, 14. Youth and woman at column with owl on it.
51. Naples, from Anzi. Woman seated and woman.
52. New York GR591. Youth with sword attacking woman.

With bands of pattern.

53. Once New York (one number, 1043: later, Maconochie, and London market, Sotheby). Three bands of floral and other patterns in black, and one of meander and cross-squares.

Black, except for patterns on the mouth.

- 54. Berne 12231.
- 55. Berne 12232.
- 56. Karlsruhe.
- 57. Bologna.

Oinochoai.

Shape 5a.

- 58. Naples (black on white 440). Phot. Sommer 11,024, ii, 15.
- 59. London market (Sotheby, 17th Dec., 1934).

Shape not noted.

- 60. Brescia.

Calyx-krater.

- 61. Berlin 3011. A, Licht i, 132. A, ram at herm. B, woman.

Column-krater.

- 62. London F490. A, Roscher, s.v. Perseus, 2035. A, warrior leaving home (warrior and women). B, women with hydriai on their heads, and pillars with vessels on them.

Perhaps also black neck-amphorae in Berne (12219), Trieste, Vienna (1036), black hydriai in New York (CV. Gallatin pl. 31, 8), and Vienna (958).

The vases we shall now be concerned with are Greek. They have sometimes been claimed as manifestations of Italian genius. They often represent Oscans, male and female, in native costume, and the same local subjects as appear in the wall-paintings of Oscan tombs. But the contrast between wall-paintings and vases is thus expressed by Weege (*Jb.* 24 p. 132): "The wall-paintings were made by Oscan artists. The artists cannot have been the same persons as painted contemporary South Italian vases—Asteas and his companions. These worked, indeed, for wealthy Oscans and took their taste into account by representing native costume and armour on the vases. But these things adhere only superficially to the figures.¹ A Greek vase-painter could never renounce his style. The tomb-paintings, on the other hand, have a completely national character throughout the fourth century." The distinction is in the main just, although it does not answer all the questions raised; and had already been made by Minervini in 1854 (*Bull. Nap.* n.s. 2 pp. 77-84). It is seldom that a vase-painter comes so close to the coarse pomp of the wall-paintings as in the hydria from Capua published by Weege (*Jb.* 24 p. 139; CV. IV Er pll. 7-8; below, p. 82).

Campanian pottery is provincial; but such provincialism does not argue barbarian blood in the artist: it is not greater than in Boeotian pottery of the fifth and fourth centuries, where there can be little question of non-Greek extraction. As for quality, Campanian vases sometimes have merit; and they are no worse than many Attic vases of the same period.

The absence of kalos-names in Campanian vase-painting and in Italiote as a whole has been held to prove that they are not the work of Greek artists. But in Athens itself kalos-names are rare by the last decades of the fifth century, and absent in the fourth.

One technical point. Mingazzini bade me notice, in the Museum of Capua, the high percentage of cracks in the Campanian vases there: huge fissures were not at all uncommon.² Either the conditions of firing were imperfect—defective kilns, negligent workmen—or spoilt pieces, which would have been discarded in other fabrics, were preserved in Campanian as sufficient for sepulchral use.

The order of my groups is only very broadly speaking chronological: vases or groups connected with each other have been kept together for convenience.

¹ Not perfectly phrased, perhaps.

² A good example, not from Capua, is the hydria N.Sc.

1931. 597 (below, p. 90, no. 10). See also Mingazzini in *B.P.W.* 1937, 201.

A. SOME EARLIER GROUPS

I. ATTICISING.

The expression 'fabric of Saticula' has had a considerable vogue; but Tillyard pointed out, as long ago as 1923, that the vases which have been styled 'Saticulan' do not form a class at all: they are a miscellaneous lot, chiefly Attic of various periods, with some oddments thrown in (*Hope Vases* pp. 18-9 and 160-1). He retained the name, however, perhaps unwisely, as a conventional term, for three bell-kraters, Deepdene 312, 313, 314, which he described as 'very near to Attic, perhaps the work of Attic artists settled in Campania.' I cannot tell what to make of 314, which I know only from the old drawing (A, Tischbein, 2, pl. 43). The other two I know from the reproductions of the obverses in Tillyard. All three vases have passed out of sight. 313 (A, Tillyard pl. 42) can hardly be distinguished, in the photograph at least, from an Attic vase of the early fourth century. 312 (A, Tischbein 4 pl. 15; A, Tillyard pl. 41) I should have judged to be Attic, about the middle of the fourth century. Another bell-krater in much the same case as Deepdene 313 is Goluchow 35, from S. Agata de'Goti (A, Millin, *PVA.* 1 pl. 35, whence *El.* 2 pl. 109b; A and side, *CV.* pl. 51, 1), which I am now inclined to call Attic rather than Campanian. Lastly, the bell-krater London 1900. 6-11 2³ (A, *JHS.* 31, 19; *CV.* IV Ea pl. 6, 6) has always seemed to me, as to Walters, not Attic, but a close Campanian copy of a fourth-century Attic vase.

A few other Campanian vases of the early fourth century might be deemed to show special Attic influence in this or that figure, but they are not worth mentioning here.

This is a meagre list, even if all the doubtfuls should prove to be Campanian. No two vases seem to be by one hand. None of them can be earlier than the beginning of the fourth century; and I doubt if there is any evidence for the establishment of a Campanian red-figure fabric before that time: not counting, of course, the Owl-Pillar group, which, as we have seen, has no connexion with Campanian red-figure in the accepted sense of the term.

II. THE CASSANDRA PAINTER.

The name-piece is one of the better Campanian vases.

Neck-amphora.

1. Capua 7554 (P. 15), from Capua. A, Patroni *Mus. Camp.* pl. 8; *CV.* IV Er pl. 22, and pl. 23, 2. A, Ajax and Cassandra. B, youths at stele; below, boy Pans. On the neck, A, female head. B, the like.

Bail-amphorae.

2. Bremen, Focke *Mus.*, 2486. A, Schaal *Brem.* pl. 24, 3. A, female head.
3. Once Munich, Preyss. Fig. 2. A, youth. B, female head.

With these I am inclined to connect two other vases about which I am not fully informed:—

Neck-amphora.

1. Capua, from Capua. *CV.* IV Er pl. 25, 4-6. A, youth with spear and pilos. B, youth. This is linked with the Cassandra vase by the character of the floral, by the drawing of drapery and limbs, by the flat profile of the faces, and by the black spots on the rock.

Skyphos.

2. Naples, from Caivano. A, *NSc.* 1931, 587. iii. A, archer. B, youth. The floral, so far as it shows in the reproduction, is the same as in the last, and the legs recall the Cassandra Painter.

³ This has been supposed to represent a torch-race; but the torches are not race-torches, and torch-racers do not encumber themselves with mantles or 'strings of beads.' There is a tendency to take for torch-racers what are merely revellers or others holding torches: another example,

Oxford 308 (*CV.* pl. 4, 10 and pl. 11, 1-2: see the text, p. 11). The Corinthian oinochoe published in *Hesp.* 6, 310 and *Hesp.* 11, 152 surely depicts a revel and not a race. The rule may be formulated, 'No race-torch, no torch-race.'

III. THE PAINTER OF CAPUA PLL. 11-13.

Neck-amphora.

1. Capua, from Capua. CV. IV Er pl. 21, 2-3 and pl. 24, 1. A, youths and women at tomb. B, young satyr and woman. On the neck: A, young satyr; B, maenad. Mingazzini saw that the vase was by the same hand as the hydria Capua pll. 11-13.

Bail-amphorae.

2. Capua 20, from Capua. CV. IV Er pl. 29, 5-6. A, young satyr. B, youth.
3. Sèvres 53, from Basilicata. CV. pl. 38, 21 and 23. A, woman. B, youth.
4. Wilanow, Branicki. A, CV. pl. 3 (Pol. 115), 7. Maenad.

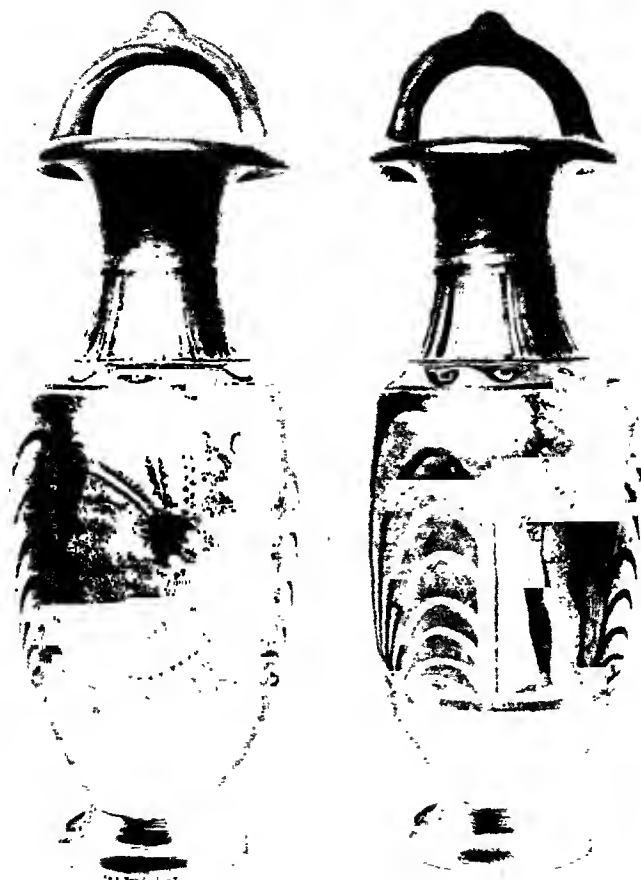


FIG. 2.—ONCE MUNICH, PREYSS.

Hydria.

5. Capua, from Capua. CV. IV Er pll. 11-13. Woman seated at tomb, and women. On the shoulder, panther, bull, and lion.

Nuptial lebetes.

6. London F202. CV. IV Ea pl. 11, 12. A, woman seated and Eros; B, woman seated and naked woman.
7. London F203. CV. IV Ea pl. 11, 13. A, woman running, and Pan; B, maenad running.
8. Cab. Méd. 970. A (reversed), Caylus 1, pl. 36, 1-2; Passeri pll. 125-6. A, naked woman, and woman. B, Pan and seated woman.

Skyphos.

9. Once Frignano Piccolo, Maglione, from Frignano Piccolo. A, NSc. 1937, 105, xi. A, woman seated. B, youth.

Compare also the following:—

Skyphos.

1. Frankfort, Hist. Mus. A, Schaal F. pl. 57, c. A, athlete.

Bell-kraters.

2. Capua, from Capua. *CV. IV*, Er pl. 36, 4-5. A, lion. B, youth. With B compare especially the reverses of the bail-amphorae in Sèvres and Capua.
3. Capua, from Capua. *CV. IV* Er pl. 36, 7-8. A, lion. B, naked youth seated. Compare the last, but I cannot be sure that the hand is the same.
4. Once Frignano Piccolo, Magliione, from Frignano Piccolo. A, *NSc.* 1937, 105, x. A, Pan. B, youth.

IV. THE PARRISH PAINTER.

So-called from the London situla, which was formerly in the Dillwyn Parrish collection.

This is one of the better and more interesting Campanian painters. Many of his figures and attitudes are out of the common, and look as if they bore a special relation to Greek free painting, perhaps wall-painting, of the early fourth century: they sometimes remind one a little of the Ficoroni cista. Some of the subjects are hard to interpret, but it should not be assumed that they are meaningless combinations of figures.

The floral decoration is very characteristic.

Neck-amphorae.

1. Boston 03.832. Pl. 4-5 and fig. 3. Uncertain subjects. A, bivouack. B (connected with A?), woman with thyrsus, Eros, youth with spear seated. On the neck, A, Centauromachy, B, the like.
2. London F143, from Capua. A, Walters *B.M. Cat. iv*, 70; *CV. IV* Ea pl. 7, 7. A, two youths at tomb. B, two youths.

Bell-krater.

3. London F494, from Basilicata. A, Walters *B.M. Cat. iv* pl. 14, 1; *CV. IV* Ea pl. 5, 2. A, Herakles, and woman on throne. B, Athena.

Situla.

4. London 1928. 7-19. 3. *BMQ.* 3 pl. 25, a-b. A, uncertain subject (youth with horse, woman, naked woman, Eros). B, naked youth and youths.

Nuptial lebes.

5. Louvre. Millingen *Coghill* pl. 21, whence (A) *El.* 4 pl. 3. A, Aphrodite on the swan, with Eros. B, naked youth, and youths. Millingen gives no provenience, and I do not know what warrant Reinach has for 'Apulia.'

Hydria.

6. Frankfort. Schaal *F.* pl. 54, d. Two youths with spears.

Probably also, to judge from the reproductions, the following:—

Bell-krater.

1. Vienna SK. 215, 55. A, La Borde pl. 59. A, youths with horse and woman with hydria. B, 'three draped figures.'

Squat lekythos.

2. Fiesole. Galli *Fiesole* 100, and 102, a. Satyr seated.

V. THE GROUP OF LONDON F500.

The group has two divisions. The vases in the first are connected with the Parrish Painter; the vases in the other, by one hand, are very like them, but poorer, and the connection with the Parrish Painter is less close. The exact relation between the two divisions, and between the first of them and the Parrish painter, is not yet clear to me.

(i) *Hydria.*

1. London F500. Walters *B.M. Cat. iv* pl. 14, 2; *CV. IV* Ea pl. 8, 14. Perseus and Medusa. At one handle female head. On the shoulder, female head frontal (Gorgoneion?).

Oinochoe (shape III).

2. Frankfort, Hist. Mus., from Capua. Schaal *F.* pl. 56. Maenad.

Squat lekythos.

3. Once Disney. *Mus. Disn.* pl. 124. Eros seated, with dog.

(ii) Nuptial lebes.

1. Würzburg 879. Langlotz pl. 248; side, Jacobsthal *O.* pl. 130, a. A, mistress and maids. B, mistress and maids. Restored.

Squat lekythoi.

2. Cab, Méd. 1044. De Ridder 612. Athena and Artemis. Restored.
3. Oxford 1919.25. Mistress and maid.



FIG. 3.—BOSTON 03.832.

A lost vase, in the old drawing, recalls the Würzburg lebes:—

Nuptial lebes.

- Once Rome, Costanzi. Passeri pl. 32. A, naked woman at laver, and woman; B, woman seated, and naked woman.

Let us return for a moment to the bell-krater London F494 (*CV. IV Ea* pl. 5, 2), no. 3 in the list of vases by the Parrish Painter; and observe the floral design at the handles. This includes the large flower, of peculiar shape, which occurs in most of the painter's works; and the whole floral design reappears on three other vases:—

Bell-kraters.

1. London F495. *CV. IV Ea* pl. 5, 3. A, satyr seated and maenad; B, donkey. Restored.
2. Naples 2293. A, Jahn *Telephos und Troilos und kein Ende* pl. 1; A, Patroni 86; A, Pollak *Zwei Vasen* pl. 7, 1, whence (redrawn) Séchan 511. A, *Telephos*. B, woman seated, woman, and youth.

Nuptial lebes.

3. London F88, from Basilicata. Passeri pl. 135, and pl. 138, 1; *CV. IV Ea* pl. 12, 8 and pl. 11, 9. A, woman seated with tympanon; B, woman seated. The lid given in the *Corpus* is doubtless alien (see p. 96): Passeri gives no lid.

The bell-kraters London F495 and Naples 2293 are further interconnected by the drawing of the maeander and the unusual form of saltire-square with black billets between the arms. Whether the figure-work is also related I cannot tell, especially as the London vase is a good deal restored. The drawing of the maeander is much as in the Parrish Painter. The same maeander and saltire-squares as in the two bell-kraters recur on the nuptial lebes Würzburg 879, which belongs to the group of London F500 (above, ii no. 1: Langlotz pl. 248); the only difference being that there is a fifth billet where the diagonals cross. This same saltire-square appears, with the same drawing of the maeander, in the London hydria F211 (Hancarville 2 pl. 16, whence Inghirami pl. 238; *CV. IV Ea* pl. 4, 3), which in shape (apart from the handles) resembles the hydria by the Parrish Painter in Frankfort (Schaal *F.* pl. 54, d; above, p. 72, no. 6), although the figure-work is in a different style.

As to the nuptial lebes London F88, the figure-work bears some likeness to that of the Würzburg lebes 879, which belongs to the group of London F500 and is, as we have seen, connected by maeander and saltire-squares with the two bell-kraters London F495 and Naples 2293.

Such correspondences of floral, maeander, shape, pass mere coincidence, and though tedious to follow, help to place the Parrish Painter, with whom we began, in a somewhat larger context.

VI. THE ARCHER GROUP.

Oinochoai (a special variety of shape II)

1. Naples 922, from S. Agata? *Mus. Borb.* 7 pl. 41, whence Inghirami pl. 69 and Panofka *Bilder ant. Leb.* pl. 10, 3. Archers shooting at a cock.
2. Naples (a number 962). Girl dancing and youth.
3. Naples 3365, from S. Agata. Naked youth, and two hounds coupling.

A lost oinochoe (or has it passed to the Villa Giulia?) seems from the old reproduction to be of the same rare shape as these three, and has the same pattern above the picture as no. 1; the style, so far as can be made out, is reconcilable with a place in the Archer Group:—

Oinochoe.

Once Rome, Kircheriano. Passeri pl. 178. Fight.

I should guess, from the reproductions, that two other curious vases might belong to this group:—

Shape unknown (oinochoe?).

S. Agata, Dr. Domenico Mustilli, from S. Agata? Gerhard *A.B.* pl. 70. Hunters bringing the boar home.

Oinochoe.

Once Soult. Millin 1 pl. 18, whence Panofka *Bilder ant. Leb.* pl. 5, 2. Hunters bringing the boar home. Gerhard had already compared this with the last.

B. THE AV. GROUP

The explanation of the name will be given later. One section of the group consists of the works of

VII. THE DANAID PAINTER

which were put together by Trendall (*Paestan Pottery*, p. 109). My only additions are nos. 10 and 13.

Hydriai.

1. London F210, from Avella. *Mus. Blacas* pl. 9; *CV. IV Ea* pl. 8, 15. Danaids in Hades. At each handle, female head.

2. London F219, from Avella. *CV. IV Ea pl. 4, 2.* Above, Erotes. Below, goddess (Ariadne?) driving panther-biga.
3. Naples 869. Patroni 108. Dionysos and Ariadne, with Nike sitting on a column.
4. Naples 747. Patroni 110 fig. 72. Youth seated and woman.

Neck-amphora.

5. London F194, from Nola. *Mus. Blacas pl. 32; CV. IV Ea pl. 10, 5 and pl. 9, 10; A, phot. Mansell 3239, 2.* A, water-nymph (naiad) riding on a river-god (figured as a man-headed bull), woman, and Eros. B, two youths. On the neck, A, siren, B, female head.

Bell-krater.

6. Naples 752. A, Patroni 111. A, young satyr. B, maenad.



FIG. 4.—OXFORD, BEAZLEY.



FIG. 5.—OXFORD 445.

Nuptial lebes.

7. London F207, from Avella. A, *RM. 23, 57 = Keller Ant. Tierwelt 78; CV. IV Ea pl. 11, 18.* A, naked woman seated, offering a dove to a cat; and woman. B, woman seated, and naked youth. On the lid, female heads; on the knob, female heads.

*Oinochoai.**(Shape II)*

8. London F235. *CV. IV Ea pl. 10, 3.* Young satyr, and maenad.
9. London F236, from Avella. *CV. IV Ea pl. 11, 19.* Panther.

(Shape III)

10. Oxford, Beazley. Fig. 4. Panther. Ht. 192. Pale café-au-lait clay. The front half of the underside of the foot is reserved, the rear half black: I do not remember noticing this elsewhere.

Skyphos.

11. London F254, from Avella. *CV. IV Ea pl. 6, 4.* A, Eros; B, maenad.

Stemless cups.

12. London F257, from Avella. 1, *CV. IV Ea pl. 12, 15.* I, Eros. A, female head. B, the like.
13. Brussels, Errera. I, *Enciclopedia Italiana s.v. Campani, Vasi, p. 572, right.* I, woman running with sash and dove.

Five vases which I have not seen are also attributed by Trendall to the Danaid Painter :—

Hydria.

1. Naples 951. Woman seated with tympanon and wreath.

Bell-kraters.

2. Louvre K251. A, satyr. B, youth.
3. Naples 772. A, maenad. B, youth.

Nuptial lebes.

4. Berlin 3201, from Anzi. A, Nike. B, Eros seated. Restored.

Lekane.

5. Berlin 3232, from Anzi. Naked youth reclining; youth seated.

The following are close to the Danaid Painter :—

Hydriai.

1. London F209. Passeri pl. 294-5; Hancarville 3 pl. 57, whence *AZ.* 1848 pl. 14, 1, Inghirami pl. 57, Overbeck *Gall.* pl. 27, 3; *CV.* IV Ea pl. 8, 13 and pl. 9, 7. Ajax and Cassandra.
2. Naples 2853, from Avella. *Mus. Borb.* 9 pl. 53; Patroni 107. Youth seated at tomb, with woman and youth. At one handle, female head; at the other, head of youth.
3. Naples 2852, from Avella. Patroni 106. (Herakles?) in the Garden of the Hesperides. At each handle, panther.

Squat lekythos.

4. London F242, from Avella. Walters *B.M. Cat.* iv pl. 9, 2, whence Pagenstecher *U.G.* pl. 3, b and Herford 109; Walters *H.A.P.* pl. 44, 3; *CV.* IV Ea pl. 9, 3. Warrior leading horse.

Stemless cup.

5. Oxford 445. Fig. 5. I, youth seated with bird. A-B, laurel. The position of the handles with respect to the picture is the same as in the stemless by the Danaid Painter.

The last two vases seem to be by one hand.

Of the hydriai, London F209 and Naples 2853 have the same characteristic shape as two of the Danaid Painter's hydriai, London F210 and F219; and should be by the same potter.

VIII.

The vases by the Danaid Painter, and those here associated with them, form part of a much larger group which I call 'AV.,' because many of the vases in it have been attributed to a 'fabric of Avella (Abella),' about which I say nothing now. The Danaid Painter has a somewhat pettier and more ornate style than his fellows.

Within this AV. group, a sub-group may perhaps be constituted of vases which are more or less closely connected with the symposion krater in Vienna (no. 19). Such are the two neck-amphorae in the Robinson collection (nos. 11 and 12), others in Capua and Naples (nos. 13 and 14), a bail-amphora in Naples (no. 18), a hydria in Capua (no. 6) and, later, a skyphos in New York (no. 29); cf. also no. 16.

THE AV. GROUP.

Hydriai.

1. London F212, from Avella. Walters *B.M. Cat.* iv pl. 8; *CV.* IV Ea pl. 4, 1. Warrior seated at tomb, and women. At one handle, head of youth; at the other, female head. Cf. the London skyphos F255 (below, no. 29). On the shape, see p. 79.
2. London F213. Passeri pl. 293; *CV.* IV Ea pl. 9, 8. Youth seated at tomb, with youth and women.
3. Frankfort, Hist. Mus. Schaal *F.* pl. 51. Woman seated at tomb, with youths and women. At each handle, female head.
4. Würzburg 874. Langlotz pl. 250. Youth and women at tomb. At each handle, female head. On the shoulder, panther and griffin.

5. Naples, from Caserta. *NSc.* 1936, 355-6. Youth and woman at tomb. At each handle, female head.
6. Capua, from Capua. *CV.* IV Er pl. 15. Youth and woman at tomb.
7. London F222. *CV.* IV Ea pl. 8, 12. Youth and seated woman.
8. Compiègne 873, from Basilicata. *CV.* pl. 25, 10. Woman running with wreath and basket. Cf. the woman under one handle in London F213; and the maenad on London F190 (p. 78, no. 20).

Neck-amphorae.

9. Sèvres 50, from Basilicata. *CV.* pl. 38, 1, 5, and 8. A, youth with thyrsus, and woman. B, youth and woman. On the neck, A, female head, B, the like.
10. London F337, from Nola. *CV.* IV Ea pl. 7, 8. A, naked youth and woman. B, Eros. On the neck, A, head of youth.



FIG. 6.—OXFORD 461.

11. Baltimore, Robinson. *CV.* iii pl. 25, 1. A, women seated at tomb, with woman and youth. B, two youths. Much restored.
12. Baltimore, Robinson. *CV.* iii pl. 25, 2. A, youth with spear and phiale. B, woman with wreath and basket.
13. Capua, from Capua. *CV.* IV Er pl. 24, 2 and 4-6. A, Nike. B, youth.
14. Naples, from Caserta. *NSc.* 1936 pl. 19, below. A, women at tomb. B, youth and woman.

Bail-amphorae.

15. Oxford 461, from Capua. Fig. 6. A, woman with basket; B, naked youth leaning on pillar, with wreath and stick.
16. Capua, from Capua. *CV.* IV Er pl. 32, 4 and 6. A, woman; B, youth.
17. Capua, from Capua. *CV.* IV Er pl. 32, 1 and 3. A, woman; B, youth.
18. Naples inv. 147978, from Frignano Piccolo. A, *NSc.* 1937, 119, 5. A, woman running with wreath and basket. B, woman. With A, compare the maenad on the bell-krater London F190 (p. 78, no. 20). Cf. also the bail-amphora Capua *CV.* pl. 32, 4 and 6.

Bell-kraters.

19. Vienna, Oest. Mus., 471. A, Jacobsthal *Gott. V.* 68; A, *Jh.* 18 Beibl., 243; A, Pfuhl fig. 802. A, symposion. B, youth seated and youths.
20. London F190. A, Hancarville 4 pl. 100; *CV.* IV Ea pl. 5, 7. A, satyr and maenad. B, two youths. If I count this as belonging to the group, it is chiefly because of the characteristic maenad. The vase has peculiar features which will be discussed later.

Nuptial lebes.

21. Cab. Méd. 960. Caylus 4 pl. 47, 1-2 (reversed); de Ridder 575. A, woman with basket and phiale. B, woman.

Oinochoe (Shape VI).

22. London old cat. 1667. *CV.* IV Ea pl. 4, 6. On the neck, woman running. On the body, panther and hound. Cf. the Bologna squat lekythos PU. 450 (below, no. 26).

Squat lekythoi.

23. London F245. *CV.* IV Ea pl. 12, 1. Woman with ball.
24. London F249. *CV.* IV Ea pl. 12, 3. Woman seated with wreath.
25. London F401, from Apulia. *CV.* IV Ea pl. 12, 7. Woman seated, and woman.
26. Bologna PU. 450. *CV.* IV Er pl. 6, 3. Woman running with fan.
27. Sèvres 137, from Basilicata. *CV.* pl. 38, 9 and 17. Woman with wreath and basket.
28. Toronto 429. Robinson and Harcum pl. 79. Woman.

Skyphoi.

Ordinary shape.

29. New York 06. 1021.219. A, woman. B, youth.

Of Corinthian type.

30. London F255, from Avella? *CV.* IV Ea pl. 6, 1. A, naked youth seated, and woman. B, woman running with wreath and mirror. Cf. the hydria London F211.

If I placed the London bell-krater F190 in the AV. group, it was chiefly on account of the maenad on the obverse with her very characteristic drapery. The reverse has an un-Campanian look, and resembled those of early Italiote vases in the tradition of the Sisyphos painter. Three vases, especially, have similar reverses. In two of them the satyrs bear a distinct resemblance to ours. The drapery of the maenads, too, shares with our vases the use of many little arcs for the minor folds, a use regular in the AV. group, though not confined to it or to Campanian. The three vases are:—

Bell-kraters.

1. Copenhagen 216B, from Nola. *CV.* pl. 253, 1. A, satyr and maenad. B, two youths.
2. Bologna PU. 589. *CV.* IV Dr pl. 23, 3-4. A, satyr and seated maenad. B, two youths.
3. Once Disney. Disney *Mus. Disn.* pll. 121-2. A, satyr and maenad. B, two youths.

There is a problem here, and I am not certain that my solution is correct. I take the three vases to be 'early Italiote,' 'Apulian'—the tail-end of the Sisyphos tradition. I note that the Copenhagen krater is said to have been found at Nola, but 'Apulian' imports into Campania, though not common, are not unknown. I take London F190 to be Campanian, but strongly influenced by imports of the same sort as the three kraters: the influence, in the reverse picture, amounting to copying.

As to the satyrs, the ultimate originals are Attic satyrs of the early fourth century.

The following vase is related to the AV. group, but the touch is lighter and I prefer to keep it somewhat apart:—

Neck-amphora.

- London F197, from S. Agata. A, *Jb.* 24, 151; *CV.* IV Ea pl. 9, 9. A, warrior and woman. B, youth and woman.

This vase is perhaps akin to it:—

Hydria.

- London F215, from Telese. *CV.* IV Ea pl. 9, 11. Fight.

Both vases, in their general character, edge a little nearer to the C.A. Painter and his associates (see p. 85) than any of the AV. group. There is one definite resemblance: the rows of white dots running down the middle of the curling petals are found in the C.A. Painter and the A.P.Z. (p. 85).

In another vase I note the resemblance, in the youth on the shoulder, and in the character of the palmettes, to the neck-amphora Capua pl. 24, 2 and 4-6, no. 13 in the AV. list; but cannot be sure from the reproduction if it belongs to the group:—

Neck-amphora.

Munich 3238 (or 3239: J. 809). A and palmettes, Lau pl. 41, 3. A, warriors and woman. B, two youths. On the neck: A, youth with grapes; B, palmette.

RELATED TO THE AV. GROUP

Hydriai.

1. Goettingen J. 49. Jacobsthal *Gött. V.* pl. 17, 53. Woman with bull. Compared by Jacobsthal with the next.
2. London F220, from Apulia. Jahn *Arch. Beitr.* pl. 7, 1; phot. Mansell, whence *Jb.* 26, 140; *CV.* IV Ea pl. 8, 10. Erotostasia. At each handle, female head.

In shape, the Goettingen hydria recalls the two hydriai by the Danaid Painter in Naples, 869 and 747, which are not from the same potter as the two by that painter in London (see pp. 74-5). The rather clumsy shape of London F212 (see p. 76) also recalls the two hydriai in Naples.

Oinochoe (Shape II).

3. Dublin, Univ. (ex Deepdene, Hope, 294). *Hope Heirlooms* 5, above, right. Maenad (woman running with thyrsus and basket).

Related to the AV. group, if not to be reckoned part of it, are the two vases by

THE PAINTER OF LONDON F196.

Neck-amphora.

1. London F196. *CV.* IV Ea pl. 10, 7. A, warrior and woman. B, naked youth and youth. The foot of the vase is a restoration: the model for it was some later neck-amphora by the C.A. Painter, the A.P.Z., or one of their associates (see p. 85).
2. Bologna PU. 604. *CV.* IV Dr. pl. 26, 1-2. A, satyrs and maenad. B, three youths.

From these I can hardly separate the

Bail-amphora

Capua 8359 (P. 23), from Capua. *CV.* IV Er pl. 32, 2 and 5. A, youth. B, youth.

This must be counted as belonging to the AV. group.

This section may conclude with an artist who is not far from the AV. group:—

IX. THE FRIGNANO PAINTER.

Bell-kraters.

1. Capua, from Capua. *CV.* IV Er pl. 36, 1-2. A, woman seated. B, woman running.
2. Once Treben. Leesen. A. *Kat. Leesen* pl. 4, 47. A, woman running. B, female head.

Skyphoi.

3. Capua, from Capua. *CV.* IV Er pl. 43, 10-1. A, woman seated. B, youth. Mingazzini saw that this was by the same hand as Capua pl. 36, 1-2.
4. Once Frignano Piccolo, Maglione, from Frignano Piccolo. A, *NSc.* 1937, 113, vii. A, woman seated. B, youth.

Bail-amphora.

5. Capua, from Capua. *CV.* IV Er pl. 28, 4-7. A, Athena. B, youth.

Another vase is very close to the Frignano Painter, but rather better than the five works in the list:—

Bell-krater.

Oxford, Beazley. Fig. 7. A, female head. B, youth seated, wearing a himation. Small bell-kraters decorated with female heads are common in Campanian: comparable with ours, New York (*CV.* Gallatin pl. 64, 2) and Sèvres 15 (*CV.* pl. 40, 8, 21, and 25).



FIG. 7.—OXFORD, BEAZLEY.

C. THE CAIVANO PAINTER AND COGNATES

X. THE CAIVANO PAINTER.

A list of this artist's works is given by Trendall (*Paest.* pp. 84-91 and 126-7), who shows that he was probably a Paestan, although he has much in common with Campanian. Trendall speaks of the 'Caivano Group': but he believes that all the vases composing it are by one hand, and this agrees with such observations as I have been able to make, so I speak of the 'Caivano Painter,' not 'Group.' Some mention of him is in place here, not only because of his connexion with Campanian, but because a good many Campanian vases are related, some closely, others remotely, to his work. But first one or two additions to Trendall's list. Trendall's no. 275 is now figured in *CV.* Copenhagen pl. 244, 3; his no. 283 (which appears to have been found at Frignano Piccolo, not Caivano), in *NSc.* 1937, 107, and 105, v. Additions:—

Bell-krater.

1. Naples inv. 147950, from Frignano. *NSc.* 1937, 108, and 105, xv. A, Birth of Helen. B, two athletes. This is one of the painter's best works, and has already been compared with the Caivano Group by Miss Elia.

Bail-amphora.

2. Once Frignano Piccolo, Maglione; from Frignano. A, *NSc.* 1937, 110, and 105, xiii. A, satyr. B, youth.

Three other vases are very closely connected with the Caivano Painter:—

Skyphos.

1. Capua, from Capua. *CV.* IV Er pl. 43, 8 and pl. 42, 8. A, satyr. B, youth.

Squat lekythos.

2. Capua, from Capua. CV. IV Er pl. 46, 12 and 14. Satyr and maenad. Attributed by Mingazzini to the same hand as the bell-krater Capua pl. 33, 5 and pl. 35, 6, and the stemless cup Capua pl. 50, 1, 4, and 12, which are both by the Caivano Painter, nos. 276 and 270 in Trendall's list. Trendall (*Paestan Pottery* p. 85 note 38), while admitting the close resemblance between the squat lekythos and the stemless, will not allow that the squat lekythos belongs properly to the Caivano Group.

Bell-krater.

3. Once Treben, Leesen. A, *Kat. Leesen* pl. 4, 48, whence fig. 8. A, woman seated on rock with wreath and mirror.

To these we should probably add the

Squat lekythos

Naples inv. 147980, from Caivano. *NSc.* 1937, 119, iv. Seated woman.



FIG. 8.—AFTER *Kat. Leesen*, Pl. 4, 48.

It would be worth while looking at another vase of the same shape, most dim in the reproduction, to see if it might not find a place here:—

Squat lekythos.

Naples, from Caivano. *NSc.* 1931, 589, iv. Seated woman. Found together with vases by the Caivano and Siamese Painters.

Another vase closely connected with the Caivano Painter is the

Hydria

Carlsruhe 350, from Capua. *Jb.* 3, 229 = *Jb.* 42, 180. Youth taking leave of a woman before sailing.

The same sleek figures, with weakly drooping hands, as in the Caivano Painter; the same pubes, borders, shoes; white sashes and red, as in his Naples hydria (*Trendall* pl. 33, a); the chaplets as in one of his Capua neck-amphorae. Compare especially the neck-amphora in Capua (CV. IV Er pl. 18, 5 and pl. 20, 2 and 4) and the hydria there (*ibid.* pl. 9 and pl. 10, 3). The patternwork, omitted in the reproduction, has points in common with the Caivano Painter's.

The hydria in Carlsruhe is closely related to two others, made by one potter and very

likely decorated by one painter, although the poorness of the reproductions makes it impossible to be sure. Here also the connexion with the Caivano Painter is unmistakable.

Hydriai.

1. Leipsic, Kunstgewerbemuseum. *Anz.* 1904, 217 (the original reproduction in the *Jahresbericht* of the Museum is not accessible to me). Youths and women.
2. Once Naples, Bourguignon. *Coll.* 18 mars 1901 pl. 4, 60. Youths and women. On the shoulder, youth, woman, Eros. Restored, it seems a good deal.

In *shape*, the Leipsic and Bourguignon hydriai belong to a larger class of hydriai decorated by various painters:—

Hydriai.

1. Toronto 423. See p. 83.
2. Capua, from Capua. *Jb.* 24, 139; *CV.* IV Er pll. 7–8. Warriors with captured armour; prisoner; and a warrior (probably a god) in a shrine. At one handle, female head; at the other, head of man.
3. Cambridge 248. E. Gardner pl. 40; *CV.* pl. 44, 1 and pl. 45, 1. Woman, satyr, and youth. At one handle, head of youth; at the other, female head.
4. Naples, from Caivano. *NSc.* 1931, 582, and 581, i. Warriors (dancing) at tomb. At one handle, female head; at the other, head of youth.
5. Leipsic, Kunstgewerbemuseum. See above, no. 1.
6. Once Naples, Bourguignon. See above, no. 2.

In style of drawing, the Cambridge hydria, no. 3 in this list, approximates to a well-known Campanian vase, although the hand is different:—

Bell-krater.

Louvre K404. Dubois-Maisonneuve pl. 59, whence (A) La Borde i, 15, (A) *Annali* 1848 pl. L, 2, (A) *El.* 3 pl. 71, (A) Overbeck *Gall.* pl. 30, 8, (A) *Jh.* 2, 16 fig. 16; A, photos. Giraudon 26,611, 1, and 26,613–4, whence *Jb.* 42, 30–1 (whence Bieber *Hist. Theater* 126), Bulle *Untersuchungen an gr. Theatern* 231, Bulle *Eine Skenographie* 15. A, Orestes in Tauris. B, young satyrs. Restored.

What is published of the following recalls the Caivano Painter:—

Skyphos.

Naples inv. 147870, from Aversa. B, *NSc.* 1937, 124, 6. A, 'youth running looking round, with a white, bell-like thing in his hand' (a small drinking-horn?—as in London F38, *CV.* IV Ea pl. 5, 4). B, youth.

XI. THE GROUP OF LONDON F223.

Two other hydriai, agreeing in shape and ornament, are akin, in *shape*, to the class of hydriai just mentioned, but the shoulder slopes more, and there is no groove on the upper part of the foot; in style of drawing, the two are at least closely related to one another:—

Hydriai.

1. London F223, from Avella. Part, Walters *B.M. Cat. iv* pl. 9, 1; *CV.* IV Ea pl. 7, 3. Woman seated, with Eros and woman. At each handle, female head.
2. London F221. *CV.* IV Ea pl. 10, 1. Eros and women. At each handle, female head.

XII. THE ERRERA PAINTER.

Neck-amphora.

1. Brussels, Errera. A, *Enciclopedia Italiana* s.v. Campani, Vasi, p. 572, left. A, fight. On the neck, A, naked youth, and woman.

Bail-amphora.

2. Capua 7541 (P. 24), from Capua. *CV.* IV Er pl. 29, 2 and pl. 31, 3. A, warrior seated. B, youth. On the neck, A, female head, B, the like.

Nuptial lebes.

3. Naples, from Cumae. A, *M.L.* 22 pl. 99, 6. A, Eros seated. B, female head.⁴

Skyphoi.

4. Boston 03.822, from Campania. Pl. VI. A, youth with fillet and chaplet; B, woman with chaplet.
 5. Brussels. A, woman seated with fillet and chaplet.
 6. Oxford 452, from Capua. Pl. VII. A, seated woman; B, the like.
 7. Würzburg 878. Langlotz pl. 250. A, fight. B, woman running.

There is a fifth to the four skyphoi in the list: the floral decoration is just the same; and the figure-work is probably by the same hand, but I cannot be sure from the defective reproduction:—

Skyphos.

- Capua 7549 (P. 46), from Capua. *CV.* IV Er pl. 41, 1, pl. 42, 10 and pl. 44, 2. A, Orestes and Erinys. B, youth.

A vase in Toronto may be by the Errera Painter, and is at least closely related:—

Hydria.

- Toronto 423. Robinson and Harcum pl. 80. Warriors and women. At each handle, female head.

The same may be said of the

Oinochoe (Shape III)

- Capua, from Capua. *CV.* IV Er pl. 49, 5 and 10. Woman seated.

In another vase, the floral decoration at the handles is nearly the same as in the four skyphoi, and the figurework is not unlike:—

Bell-krater.

- Capua 7531 (P. 37), from Capua. *CV.* IV Er pl. 33, 2, pl. 35, 3, and pl. 37, 2. A, Dionysos (?), seated woman, and young satyr. B, three youths. The obverse is much restored. Some of the restorations are given by Mingazzini.

For floral, and reverse, compare with this the

Bell-krater

- Once Lamberg. B, La Borde 2, suppl. pl. 9, 1. B, youths. There is no information about the obverse.

XIII. THE GROUP OF OXFORD 459.

Bail-amphora.

1. Oxford 459, from Capua. Fig. 9. A, seated woman. B, youth.

The figure of the seated woman, and the character of the palmettes, connect this with the

Lekane

2. Copenhagen inv. 3231. *CV.* pl. 266, 1. Seated women; Eros seated; naked youth with tympanon; woman with thyrsus.

Compare with these the lost vase (shape unknown)

Once Hamilton. Tischbein 5 pl. 57. Youth running with thyrsus and tympanon; seated woman. The two figures may have been on different sides of the vase.

⁴ In another vase of this shape, the Eros recalls the Naples lebes, but the style is different. This is a nuptial lebes, from Leontini, in Syracuse (B. *Atti Acc. Nap.* 1911, 345: A, Pace *Arte e civiltà della Sicilia antica* ii, 475, 1: A, Eros

seated; B, seated woman); by the same hand, an oinochoe, shape 5a, from the same city, in Syracuse (*Atti Acc. Nap.* 1911, 344 = Pace *op. cit.* ii, 475 fig. 346).

D.

XIV. SOME SKYPHOI.

The skyphos is a favourite shape in Campanian red-figure, and many skyphoi are dealt with in other chapters. Here are some small groups that cannot be brought, at present, under any of our headings.

(i)

Skyphos.

Once Munich, Dr. Preyss. A, *Griechische Ausgrabungen* (Helbing 27-28 Juni 1910) pl. 2, 102. A, fight. B, two women.



FIG. 9.—OXFORD 459.

Jacobsthal, to whom I owe a photograph of this vase, aptly compares the

Hydria

Goluchow, Prince Czartoryski, 126. CV. pl. 51, 2. Fight.

(ii)

Skyphoi.

1. Capua 7943 (P. 51), from Capua. CV. IV Er pl. 45, 11 and pl. 44, 6-7. A, female head. B, youth.
2. Capua 7951 (P. 57), from Capua. CV. IV Er pl. 45, 12 and 14. A, female head between sprigs of olive. B, owl between sprigs of olive. Mingazzini noted that this was by the same hand as the last.

(iii)

Skyphoi.

1. Capua, from Capua. CV. IV Er pl. 43, 7, pl. 42, 7, and pl. 44, 1. A, satyr. B, youth.
2. Capua 7553 (P. 48), from Capua. CV. IV Er pl. 43, 9 and pl. 42, 9. A, satyr. B, youth.

These two are doubtless by one hand: and Mingazzini saw this, for when he says that pl. 43, 7 is by the same hand 'as pl. 42, 8' he must mean 'as pl. 42, 9.'

(iv)

Skyphoi.

1. Capua, from Capua. CV. IV Er pl. 43, 4 and pl. 42, 4. A, youth with (spear?). B, youth.
2. Capua, from Capua. CV. IV Er pl. 43, 2 and pl. 42, 2. A, youth with (spear?). B, youth.

These two are related. The handle-decoration connects them with the Caivano Painter (CV. Capua IV Er pl. 20, 2) and the Errera Painter.

A London vase is attributed by Mingazzini to the same hand as Capua pl. 43, 4: floral and reverse are at least like:—

Calyx-krater.

London F38, from Egnazia. CV. IV Ea pl. 5, 4. A, Dionysos. B, youth.

(v)

Skyphos.

Capua 7942 (P. 50), from Capua. CV. IV Er pl. 43, 5, pl. 42, 5 and pl. 44, 8. A, seated woman. B, youth.

The handle-decoration is of the same type as in two vases by the Errera Painter: the bail-amphora Capua 7541 and the Naples lebes, nos. 2 and 3 in the list on pp. 82-3.

The top of the woman's head is cut off by the border above it, and this connects the vase with Capua pl. 43, 4 (see above, iv, 1). Mingazzini attributes the two skyphoi to the same hand, but I am not sure that he is right: the reverses, in particular, are very different. He adds Capua pl. 43, 1, but I confess I do not see the resemblance.

(vi)

Skyphoi.

1. Capua 7940 (P. 49), from Capua. CV. IV Er pl. 43, 6 and pl. 42, 6. A, naked youth with strigil and wreath. B, youth.
2. Capua, from Capua. CV. IV Er pl. 43, 3 and pl. 42, 3. A, naked youth with wreath and spear. B, youth.

These two must be by one hand: and so Mingazzini, for when he says that pl. 43, 3 is by the same hand 'as pl. 43, 7' he must mean 'as pl. 43, 6.'

The reverse figures are exceptionally deboshed.

(vii)

Skyphos.

Capua, from Capua. CV. IV Er pl. 43, 1, pl. 42, 1, and pl. 44, 11. A, warrior. B, youth.

Mingazzini attributes this to the same hand as 'the bail-amphora Capua pl. 30, 1 and 2,' but I think he means another vase:—

Bail-amphora.

Capua 7545, from Capua. CV. IV Er pl. 30, 2 and 4. A, naked youth with chaplet and (spear?): B, youth.

The backs of the two vases are certainly alike.

I do not understand Mingazzini's other attributions, Capua pl. 43, 3 and Capua pl. 43, 7: see pp. 85, vi, 2, and 84, iii, 1.

E. LATER: THE C.A. PAINTER, THE A.P.Z. PAINTER, AND THEIR COMPANIONS.

We now come to certain vases which, since Patroni, have generally been assigned to Cumae. I use the conventional term 'C.A.' ('Cumae A'): without committing myself, however, to the view, probable though it is, that the vases were made in Cumae. It would doubtless be more prudent to speak of a 'group' than an 'artist': but all these vases, large

and small, do seem to have been painted by one hand: so let it be 'the C.A. Painter.' The other painters in this chapter are more or less closely connected with him, and probably sat in the same workshop.

XI. THE C.A. PAINTER.

Neck-amphorae

1. Naples, from Cumae. A, *ML.* 22 pl. 96, 2. A, warrior and women at column.
2. Naples, from Cumae. A, *ML.* 22 pl. 95, 3. A, warriors and women. B, woman seated and woman. On the neck, A, female head, B, the like.
3. Bremen, Biedermann. A and side, Schaal *Brem.* pl. 23 and pl. 26, d. A, women at tomb. On the neck, A, seated woman.
4. Copenhagen inv. 9760. *CV.* pl. 247, 1. A, warrior and women. B, woman seated, and youth. Restored. Blinkenberg and Johansen saw that this was by the same hand as London F198 and Capua pl. 18, 2.
5. London F198. *CV.* IV Ea pl. 10, 9. A, women. B, seated woman, and youth.
6. Once Gori. Passeri pl. 110. A, women. B, seated woman and youth.
7. Vienna SK. 169.3. A, La Borde 2 pl. 43, 2. A, women. B, seated woman, and youth.
8. Frankfort, Hist. Mus., from Curti. A, Schaal *F.* pl. 50. A, warrior and women.
9. Naples, from Caivano. A, *NSc.* 1931, 607, i. A, woman seated, and women. B, woman seated, and woman. On the neck, A, female head.
10. Capua, from Caivano. *CV.* IV Er pl. 18, 2-3 and pl. 20, 3. A, warrior and women. B, women.
11. Once Rome, Kircheriano. Passeri pl. 55. A, seated woman and Eros. B, seated woman.
12. Bologna PU. 412. B, Passeri pl. 88, 2 and 4; *CV.* IV Er pl. 1, 3-4. A, woman. B, youth.
13. Graz, University. A, *Atti Pont.* 14, 192. A, warrior seated, with woman and Nike. On the neck, A, female head.
14. Once Frignano Piccolo, from Frignano Piccolo. Fragmentary. A, *NSc.* 1937, 113, xii. A, woman seated, and women. B, two youths.
15. Berlin 3024, from Cumae. Side, Jacobsthal *O.* pl. 59, b. A, warrior and women at tomb. B, two women. On the neck, A, female head, B, the like.
16. Naples RC. 7 from Cumae. A, *ML.* 22, 690 fig. 239. A, woman and little girl in aedicula, and women. B, woman seated, and women. On the shoulder, A, women seated and women (one with a thyrsus). On the neck, A, woman seated and woman, B, the like.

Neck-amphora or bail-amphora.

17. Orvieto, from Orvieto? Side-view, *St. etr.* 4, 299. Visible in the reproduction, on the right of A, a woman seated, on the left of B, a woman.

Bail-amphorae.

18. Naples, from Cumae. A, *ML.* 22 pl. 95, 1. A, warrior and women. B, woman seated and woman.
19. Naples, from Caivano. *NSc.* 1931, 596 fig. 12 and 595, 1. A, warrior and women. B, woman seated and woman.
20. Sèvres 52, from Basilicata. *CV.* pl. 38, 14 and 18. A, woman seated; B, woman. Mrs. Massoul compared this with Providence 97.099.
21. Naples, from Caivano. B, *NSc.* 1931, 607, ii. A, woman; B, woman.
22. Providence 97.099. *CV.* pl. 29, 1. A, woman; B, woman with thyrsus.
23. Naples, from Ponticelli (near Naples). A, *NSc.* 1922, 259. A, female head; B, the like.

Bell-kraters.

24. Naples 871. *Mus. Borb.* 6 pl. 39, whence Inghirami pl. 112; A, Patroni 88; A, *ML.* 22, 690 fig. 236. A, warriors and women. B, seated woman, and women (one with thyrsus).
25. Madrid 11024 (L. 371). A, Ossorio pl. 16, 2; Leroux pl. 47. A, Dionysos seated, with women. B, woman seated, and women (one with thyrsus).
26. Naples RC 144, from Cumae. A, Schreiber *Bilderatlas* 1 pl. 76, 2, whence Studniczka *Symp.* 125; A, *Boll. d'Arte* 1910, 121 fig. 16; A, *ML.* 22 pl. 93, whence *Jh.* 18, Beibl., 247, and Licht ii, 45; A, phot. Sommer. A, symposion. B, woman seated and women.
27. Naples 2855, from S. Agata. A, *Jb.* 2, 125, whence Licht ii, 105, below; A, Patroni 87. A, symposion. B, woman seated, with woman and youth.
28. St. Louis. A, warriors and women. B, women and youth at altar.
29. Capua, from the royal estate of Carditello. *CV.* IV Er pl. 33, 3 and pl. 34. A, warrior and women. B, woman seated, with woman and youth. Mingazzini saw that this was by the same hand as the neck-amphora London F198.
30. Wilno, Univ. *CV.* pl. 3 (Pol. 126), 20. A, Dionysos seated, with women. B, woman seated and youth.
31. Naples, from Cumae. A, *ML.* 22 pl. 96, 5. A, warrior seated, and woman.

32. Vatican. Passeri pl. 111; A, *Atti Pont.* 14, 186; A, phot. Alinari 35755. A, warrior and seated woman. B, seated woman and youth.
 33. Toronto 402. A, Robinson and Harcum pl. 76. A, warrior and woman. B, woman seated, and woman.
 34. Baltimore, Robinson, from Taranto. *CV.* iii pl. 24, 2. A, female head. B, two youths.

Nuptial lebes.

35. Bologna PU. 486. *CV.* IV Er pl. 6, 22-3. A, youth. B, youth.

Hydriai.

36. Naples, from Caivano. *NSc.* 1931, 609, and 607, iii. Woman seated, with women.
 37. Vatican. Passeri pl. 145; *Atti Pont.* 14, 189. Women.
 38. Naples, from Cumae. Patroni 81 fig. 50. Woman seated in aedícula, with warrior (and another).

Squat lekythoi.

39. London F241. Hancarville 3 pl. 71 and 121; *CV.* IV Ea pl. 10, 4. Warrior and women.
 40. Naples RC 143, from Cumae. Fiorelli pl. 12, whence *Bull. nap.* n.s. 5 pl. 10, 16 and (detail) Patroni 91; *Boll. d'Arte* 4 (1910) 121 fig. 17; *ML.* 22 pl. 95, 2. Warriors and women.
 41. Cab. Méd. 1036. De Ridder 608. Maenad and boy satyr.
 42. Bologna PU. 448. Passeri pl. 137; *CV.* IV Er pl. 5, 19. Woman seated and woman.
 43. Bologna PU. 447 (not 445, as Laurenzi). Passeri pl. 177, 1 and 3; *CV.* IV Er pl. 5, 15. Woman seated and woman.
 44. Naples inv. 146678, from Naples. *NSc.* 1935, 276 fig. 18. Woman.

Alabastron.

45. Dunecht, Cowdray. Tischbein 3 pl. 23, whence *El.* 4 pl. 41; Tillyard pl. 40. Aphrodite and Eros, with women and a little maid.

Lekane.

46. Capua 7805 (P. 79), from Capua. *CV.* IV Er pl. 49, 11 and 16. Female heads.

Skyphos.

47. Würzburg 877. A and side, Jacobsthal *O.* pl. 145; Langlotz pl. 249. A, Dionysos seated, with maenads and Pan. B, woman seated, and women.

Shape unknown.

48. Once Hamilton. Tischbein 2 pl. 45. Dionysos and Ariadne seated, with young satyr.
 49. Once Hamilton. Tischbein 2 pl. 34, whence *Atti Pont.* 14, 188. Woman seated and women.

The following should be by the C.A. Painter (compare, for example, his hydria in the Vatican); but I admit I know it only from the cut in Caylus and the description in de Ridder:

Oinochoe (Shape II?).

- Cab. Méd. 996. Caylus 4 pl. 41, 1-2. Woman seated.

There is another vase I should like to have more information about: for much in the imperfect reproduction recalls the C.A. Painter: especially the drawing of the petals to left of the picture:—

Bell-krater.

- Vienna SK. 163, 77. A, La Borde 1 pl. 57. A, woman running, accompanied by a small Pan. B, woman seated and woman.

The five vases that follow are in the manner of the C.A. Painter, and quite likely from his own hand, but I keep them together, because they form a group:—

Bail-amphora.

1. Naples inv. 146694, from Naples. A, *NSc.* 1935, 275 fig. 16. A, woman seated, and woman. B, woman.

Skyphoi.

2. Naples inv. 146680, from Naples. A, *NSc.* 1935, 276 fig. 17. A, woman. B, woman.
 3. Naples, from Caivano. A, *NSc.* 1931, 607, iv. A, seated woman. B, woman.

Oinochoe (Shape III).

4. Capua, from Capua. *CV.* IV Er pl. 46, 15 and 17. Woman at altar.

Squat lekythos.

5. Capua, from Capua. *CV. IV Er pl. 48, 5 and 11.* Two women at a stele.

These two vases stand close to the C.A. Painter:—

Bail-amphora.

1. Paris market (Lambros). *A, Coll. Lambros pl. 6, 100.* A, warrior; B, woman. *Cf. the C.A. Painter's bail-amphora in Providence (p. 26, no. 22).*

Oinochoe (Shape III).

2. Once Pourtalès 253. *El. cér. 3 pl. 82, whence Gerhard Ak. Abh. pl. 65, 3.* Woman seated at herm.

The following are also connected with him:—

Alabastron.

1. London F251. *CV. IV Ea pl. 11, 6.* Woman seated and woman.



FIG. 10.—ONCE AUGUSTUS READY.

Squat lekythoi.

2. London F244. *CV. IV Ea pl. 9, 5.* Woman seated, and woman. Recalls the two squat lekythoi by the C.A. Painter in Bologna (p. 87, nos. 42-3).
3. Naples, from Caivano. *NSc. 1931, 607, vi.* Female head.

Oinochoe (Shape III).

4. Naples, from Caivano. *NSc. 1931, 607, v.* Female head.

Lastly, this looks like an *imitation* of the C.A. Painter:—

Skyphos (of Corinthian type).

- Copenhagen 228, from Sicily. *CV. pl. 247, 3.* A, woman seated. B, woman.

XVI. THE READY PAINTER.

I name him after a krater which in 1915 was in the possession of Augustus Ready (brother of William Talbot Ready). The style is very like that of the C.A. Painter, but strangely

exaggerated and stiffened: I have thought that these vases might be the latest work of the C.A. Painter himself, but have not been able to make up my mind.

Bell-kraters.

1. Naples 808. A, Patroni 163. A, youth with cithara seated, and women. B, youths.
2. Michigan (lent by Mrs. F. W. Kelsey). CV. pl. 31, 2. A, woman with cithara seated, and women. B, youths.
3. London market (Augustus Ready). A, fig. 10. A, woman seated, and women.

Hydria.

4. Toronto 422. Robinson and Harcum pl. 80. Woman seated and women.

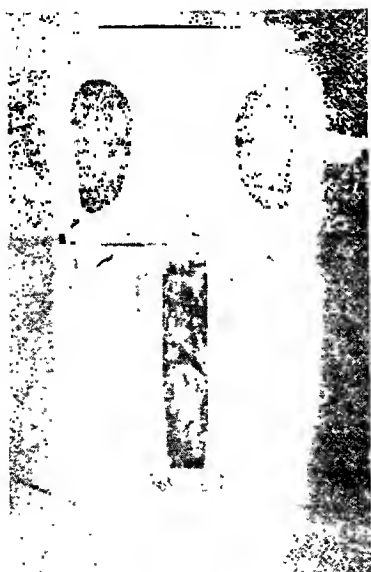


FIG. 11.—ONCE NEW YORK.



FIG. 12.—NEW YORK MARKET.

Neck-amphorae.

5. Munich 3239 (unless it be 3238), from South Italy. A, seated woman, and woman. B, two youths at stele.
6. Once New York, from South Italy. B. *Cypr. Ant. March 30, 1928*, i, 91, 2, whence Fig. 11. A, according to the register of the Metropolitan Museum, as Miss Richter tells me, 'offerings to a tombstone.' B, two youths at stele. Ht. 499.

Bail-amphora.

7. New York market. A, *Cat. Parke-Bernet Apr. 24, 1943*; A, Fig. 12. A, women at stele.

Oinochoai (Shape II).

8. Copenhagen 259. CI. pl. 246, 1. Woman seated and women. Restored.
9. Paris market (Ghurékian). *Coll. Ghurékian 19-20 mars 1923* pl. 6, 100. Woman seated, and woman (maid to r., holding a parasol over her mistress, seated to r.; maid to l., holding a kalathos-shaped basket with a bail).

XVII. THE PAINTER OF NEW YORK 1000.

Nos. 1, 9, 10 go together and stand especially close to the C.A. Painter; no. 6 goes with no. 7, no. 4 with no. 8; the New York bell-krater, no. 1, joins them all up.

Bell-kraters.

1. New York GR. 1000. Fig. 13. A, warriors and women. B, three youths.
2. London F191. Passeri pl. 112; CV. IV Ea pl. 6, 5. A, warrior and seated woman. B, two youths. The foot of the vase modern.
3. Michigan (lent by Mrs. F. W. Kelsey). CV. pl. 31, 1. A, symposion (youth reclining and woman fluting). B, two youths.
4. Würzburg 875, from Tarcento (Veneto)? Langlotz pl. 247. A, symposion. B, woman seated, and woman. Langlotz saw that this came from the same fabric as London F199.
5. Naples 2231, from S. Agata. Mus. Borb. 9 pl. 29; A, Patroni 176; A, ML. 22, 690 fig. 237. A, Papposilenos brought to a seated woman (Ariadne?). B, four youths.

Neck-amphora.

6. Berlin 3022, from Capua. A, Mon. 8 pl. 34, 1; A, Lücken pl. 60; A and side, Jacobsthal O. pl. 58; A, Scritti Nogara pl. 44. 2. A, Perseus and the Gorgons. B, two youths at stele.

Bail-amphorae.

7. Toronto 391. Robinson and Harcum pl. 70. A, mounted warrior. B, two youths.
8. London F199. Hancarville 2 pl. 57 and 3 pll. 98-9, whence (reversed) Inghirami pl. 134; CV. IV Ea pl. 10, 8. A, woman with thyrsus seated; B, woman seated.

Hydriai.

9. Würzburg 873. Langlotz pl. 250; back, Jacobsthal O. pl. 59, a. Warrior and women. At each handle, female head.
10. Naples, from Caivano. NSc. 1931, 597 and 595, iii. Warrior seated at tomb, with Nike and seated women.

Oinochoai (Shape II).

11. London F234, from Nola. CV. IV Ea pl. 10, 2. Women (one with thyrsus) and Eros.
12. Once Disney. Disney Mus. Disn. pll. 111-12. Women (one with thyrsus) and Eros.
13. Once Deepdene, Hope 291. Tillyard pl. 38. Woman seated, and women.

According to Tillyard (p. 152), the first of the following is a replica, the second almost a replica, of the Deepdene oinochoe 291:—

Oinochoai (Shape II).

1. Once Deepdene, Hope, 292. Woman seated, and women.
2. Naples inv. 82654. Woman seated, and women.

A lost vase, in the manner of the C.A. Painter, is perhaps by the Painter of New York 1000:—

Shape unknown.

Once Hamilton. Tischbein 3 pl. 40, whence Pagenstecher U.G. pl. 3, d, and Atti Pont. 14, 187. Woman seated at tomb, warrior, and woman.

Another lost piece may go with this. Hamilton calls the picture 'a sequel to' Tischbein 3 pl. 40: can it be from the same vase?

Possibly also:—

Shape unknown.

Once Hamilton. Tischbein 3 pl. 41. Three women (one with a thyrsus).

Of vases related to the A.P.Z. Painter (see p. 91), two are connected with the three oinochoai which we have assigned to the Painter of New York 1000:—

Oinochoe (Shape II).

1. Copenhagen 244, from S. Agata. CI. pl. 246, 2. Woman seated, and woman.

Hydria.

2. Sèvres 39, from Basilicata. *CV.* pl. 42, 1 and 3. Women at tomb. Seems restored.

XVIII. THE A.P.Z. PAINTER.

A.P.Z. for 'Apulianizing.' These vases must have been produced in the same city, and in the same workshop, as those of the C.A. Painter; but the style of drawing is very different, and is almost pure 'Apulian.' Either a Campanian painter set himself to imitate 'Apulian' models, or, more likely, an 'Apulian' painter established himself in Campania. I speak of a painter, for the vases in this list appear to be by a single hand: I do not forget, however, how



FIG. 13.—NEW YORK GR. 1000.

well drilled 'Apulian' artists were in the middle and late fourth century, and how hard it is to tell one hand from another in the vases of 'Apulia' itself.⁵

Bell-kraters.

1. Naples from Cumae. A, *ML.* 22 pl. 94. A, warrior and women; Eros; youth and woman. B, naked youth seated, with women.
2. Würzburg 876. A, *Sg. Vogell* pl. 4, 6; Langlotz pl. 250. A, youths and women. B, woman seated, and women. Compared by Langlotz with the last.
3. Naples inv. 147926, from S. Antimo. *NSc.* 1937, 136, 4, pl. 6, 2, and p. 134, c. A, women at herm. B, three youths.
4. Capua 7547 (P. 41), from Capua. *CV.* IV Er pl. 35, 4-5. A, woman seated. B, youth.
5. Wilno, Society of Friends. *CV.* pl. 1 (Pol. 124), 5. A, woman seated. B, youth.

Neck-amphorae.

6. Villa Giulia inv. 22592, from Cumae. A, *Cat. Woodyat* pl. 7, 101; *ML.* 24 (Cultrera) pl. 22; *CV.* IV Er pl. 2, 1-3 and 5. A, Amazonomachy. B, youth seated, with women. On the neck, A, woman running (maid), B, Eros.
7. New York 06.1021.231. A, youth with horse, in aedicula; and women. B, four youths. On the neck, A, woman, B, Eros.

⁵ A term is wanted to denote 'Apulian' vases of the great slick style which culminates in the Persians vase. They are generally called 'Apulian' in a narrower sense; but the word is also used in a wider sense. I shall use 'A.P.'

(= "'Apulian" pure,' or 'Persians'). A vase like the Boreas krater in London (*JHS* 51 pl. 4 and p. 89) I should call 'early A.P.'; 'late A.P.' would be vases like those in Bari *R.M.* 29, 93-5 and 100-1.

8. Naples, from Caivano. *NSc.* 1931, 596 fig. 13, and 595, ii. A, woman at tomb. B, three youths.
9. London F195. *CV.* IV Ea pl. 9, 6. A, youth with thyrsus, and woman, at tomb. B, two youths.
10. Capua 7544 (P. 18), from Capua. *CV.* IV Er pl. 26, 4-6. A, woman; B, youth.

Bail-amphorae.

11. New York 06.1021.235. A, youth seated, and women. B, youths.
12. Capua, from Capua. *CV.* IV Er pl. 27. A, woman seated, and woman. B, two youths. Mingazzini saw that this was by the same hand as the next but one and the skyphos in Capua.
13. Once Munich, Preyss. A, woman seated, and woman. Replica of the next.
14. Naples, from Cumae. Patroni 80 fig. 48. A, woman seated, and woman.
15. Naples inv. 147925, from S. Antimo. *NSc.* 1937, 134, b, and 139. A, woman seated and woman. B, youth.
16. Bologna PU. 415. *CV.* IV Er pl. 1, 9-10. A, woman; B, youth.
17. Capua 7545 (P. 22), from Capua. *CV.* pl. 31, 5-7. A, woman. B, youth.

Hydriai.

18. Villa Giulia 22593, from Cumae? *Cat. Woodyat* pl. 7, 102; *ML.* 24 (Cultrera) pl. 23, 39; *CV.* IV Er pl. 1, 3-4. Woman seated, with woman, in aedicula; with youth and women. At each handle, female head.
19. New York 06.1021.227. The central group, Richter *Greek Painting* 18, above. Woman seated, and women, in aedicula; with youths and women. At each handle, female head.

Squat lekythos.

20. Naples inv. 147918, from S. Antimo. *NSc.* 1937, 136, 10, and 134, top, 4. Woman seated, and woman.

Skyphoi.

21. New York 06.1021.238. A, youth seated, and women. B, three youths.
22. Capua, from Capua. *CV.* IV Er pl. 39, 1-2 and 5. A, seated woman, and women. B, two youths.
23. Naples inv. 147920, from S. Antimo. *NSc.* 1937, 136, 3, and 134, second row, 4. A, woman; B, youth.
24. Wilno, Society of Friends. *CV.* pl. 1 (Pol. 124), 4. A, woman seated; B, Eros. With B *cf.* the neck of the Villa Giulia neck-amphora (no. 6).
25. Wilno, Society of Friends. *CV.* pl. 1 (Pol. 124), 6. A, woman seated; B, youth.

Stemless cup.

26. Capua, from the royal estate of Carditello. *CV.* IV Er pl. 50, 14 and 11. I, female head. A, two youths. B, the like.

Almost indistinguishable from 'Apulian' of the A.P. style, at least in the reproductions, are the pictures on two vases which from shape and ornament seem Campanian:—

Hydriai.

1. London F226. *CV.* IV Ea pl. 10, 10. Women at tomb.
 2. Bologna PU. 555. *CV.* IV Dr pl. 30, 2. Women at tomb.
-

RELATED TO THE A.P.Z. PAINTER.

Hydria.

1. Capua 7564 (P. 31), from Capua. *CV.* IV Er pl. 17, 4-6. Woman running. Compare the oinochoe, shape III, Toronto 399 (Robinson and Harcum pl. 71).

Squat lekythoi.

2. Sèvres 136, from Basilicata. *CV.* pl. 38, 7 and 15. Woman seated and woman.
3. Capua 7548 (P. 71), from Capua. *CV.* IV Er pl. 47, 4 and 6. Woman seated.

Skyphoid pyxis.

4. Naples 856. A, Patroni, title-page = p. 84. A, mistress and maid at laver. B, Eros seated. On the shape see below, p. 104.
-

F. SOME LATER PAINTERS

XIX. THE LLOYD PAINTER.

One of the finest Campanian vases, if it be Campanian, is the large calyx-krater which was formerly in the collection of Dr. A. T. Lloyd, Christ's College, Cambridge, was sold at Sotheby's on February 9th, 1937, no. 54, and is now in the Ashmolean Museum (Pl. 1, 1 and pll. 2-3). The subject is unusual: two very young satyrs are seizing two almost naked maenads; Eros flies down to crown the foremost satyr, and Pan, a mere boy, standing on a low pedestal in the form of the upper part of an Ionic column, looks on: a theme half-way, one might fancy, between the 'Pan pursuing a shepherd' of the Pan Painter, and the idyll that begins 'Formosam Donacen.'

Trendall has noticed (*Paestan Pottery*, p. 33 note 46) the affinity between the Lloyd vase and the fabric of Paestum: the platform on which the figures stand, the drawing of the maeander, the big ivy-wreath above the pictures, are among the traits that recall Paestan calyx-kraters. But the style is suaver, the lines sweeter, than anything Paestan.

Trendall placed the vase in the neighbourhood of the bell-krater Louvre K241 (A, phot. Giraudon 15155: A, Dionysos, a maenad, and an old satyr carrying Eros flying-angel; B, naked youth and youths). There is perhaps a certain affinity between the two vases: but the Paris krater is by a much less gifted artist. I seem to recognise the style of the Lloyd krater, on a smaller scale, in the Eros and woman of a lekane in Oxford (Fig. 14); the technique, also, is equally excellent, and the colour of the clay is the same fine warm reddish-brown.

One particular is worth mention. In the right hand of the woman on the lekane, the third and fourth fingers are close together and well separated from forefinger and pinkie; in the calyx-krater there are as many as four perfect examples of an arrangement which is not common on vases but is extremely popular in Italian painting from the beginning of the sixteenth century, from Michelangelo and Raphael, onwards. It is frequent, before the end of the fifteenth century, in Perugia; I do not know how much farther the doctrine, for such it must be, can be traced back. See also below, p. 107.

I suspect one might be tempted to date these vases too early, were it not for the shape of the calyx-krater; in Attica this exaggerated version of the form does not appear until well on in the third quarter of the fourth century, and in Italy it will not have appeared earlier.

We have not finished with the Lloyd vase: it will be touched on later in another context (p. 107).

Calyx-krater.

1. Oxford 1937.283. Pl. 1, 1 and pll. 2-3. A, satyrs and maenads; B, satyrs and maenad. Height .485. Repainting along some of the fractures: hence modern, on A, in 1, r. ankle, l. shoulder, thyrsus-head except the upper third, the upper streamer of the thyrsus; in 2, a little of the r. arm; in 3, a slice of the l. thigh between knee and thighlet, and pieces of the drapery to N.W. and S.E. of that; in 4, the l. ankle; part of 5's pedestal: on B, in 1, the upper line of the l. upper arm, a slice of knee and of shank: lastly, small parts of the red-figured ivy-wreath above the pictures. This ivy-wreath does not come out well in the photographs: the leaves are reserved, with a white edge.

Lekane.

2. Oxford 480 (ex Castellani). Fig. 14. A, Eros; B, woman sitting on the ground.

XIX. THE IXION PAINTER.

From the point of view of subject, or at least of mythical representations, the most important group of Campanian vases is that which centres in the two neck-amphorae with the Punishment of Ixion. A good many of the vases in the following list have been put together by Trendall (*Paestan Pottery* p. 98, note 52): nos. 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 17? No. 15 was associated with no. 9 in *Vases in Poland* pp. 76-7. The style is based on Attic vases of the later Kerch period (not much earlier than about 330 B.C.); unless indeed the two styles have a common source. I

speak of the Ixion Painter: for the vases in this list seem to be by one hand: perhaps nos. 15 and 16 stand a little apart from the rest.

Neck-amphorae.

1. Berlin inv. 3167, from Capua. A, *Anz.* 1890, 90, left, whence Cook *Zeus* i, 40. A, youth slaying man (Death of Aigisthos?). B, two youths.
2. Berlin 3023, from Cumae. *Annali* 1873 pl. I-K, whence (A) Roscher s.v. Ixion, 770, (A) Cook *Zeus* i pl. 16, and (A, redrawn) Séchan 393; A, Herrmann *Denkm. der Malerei* i, 49; A, *ML.* 22 pl. 98, 1; A, *Licht* i, 233; A, Neugebauer pl. 73. A, Ixion. B, naked youth, and youth.
3. Cracow 835. *CV.* pl. 18, 2. A, woman fleeing to image. B, two youths.
4. Louvre K 300, from Cumae. A, *AZ.* 1867 pl. 223, whence Séchan 404 fig. 120; A, *ML.* 22 pl. 96, 3; A, Pottier *Dessin* fig. 12; A, *Enc. phot.* iii, 36, a. A, Medea. B, two youths.^{5 bis}



FIG. 14.—OXFORD, 480.

5. Naples RC. 27, from Cumae. A, Patroni 80 fig. 47; A, *ML.* 22 pl. 95, 4. A, a youth holding a little girl, and a seated woman, in an aedicula. B, two youths.
6. Leningrad 1033, from Capua (*Bull.* 1868 pll. 38-9). A, *Antichniya raspisniya vazi* (extract from the Russian *Apollon*) fig. 24 (in colours), whence Pl. 1, 2. A, Escape of Iphigeneia, Orestes, and Pylades. B, youths.
7. Leningrad 1032. *Jb.* 29 pl. 7 and p. 97, whence (part of A, redrawn) Séchan 211. A, unexplained subject (man seated on altar, and dead woman; youth with sword, and old man). B, two youths.
8. Capua 7336 (P. 16), from Capua. A, Patroni *Mus Camp.* pl. 9; *CV.* IV Er pl. 18, 1, pl. 19, pl. 20, 1; A, Cook *Zeus* iii, pl. 75. A, Ixion. B, two youths.
9. Dunecht, Lord Cowdray, from Polignano. Millin 1, pll. 49-50; B, Gerhard *A.B.* pl. 313, 1; Tillyard pl. 39 and pl. 34, 283. A, fight (Greeks and Trojans). B, uncertain subject (youth and woman—wedded pair?—goddess—Aphrodite?—Eros, women).
10. New York 06.1021.239. Sambon *Coll. Canessa* pl. 10, 122; Fig. 15. A, naked youth, woman seated with woman, Nike. B, two youths. On the neck, A, youth, B, the like.

^{5 bis} The Medea neck-amphora in the Cabinet des Médailles (876: the chief picture, Raoul-Rochette *Choix des peintures de Pompéi* 277, whence, re-drawn, Séchan 403;

de Ridder 520 and pl. 25) is in a different style: it bears some relation, I think, to the Errera Painter (p. 82), but I have not ventured to put it in my text.

11. Leyden 26f41, from Nola? Passeri pll. 262-3; Millin pll. 19-22, whence Overbeck *Gall.* pl. 22, 7. A, Psychostasia; Achilles and Memnon. B, Papposilenoi carrying Erotes. On the shoulder, A, griffin and bull. On the neck, A, woman, B, woman. Restored.
12. London F338, from Apulia. A, Walters *B.M. Cat. iv* pl. 4, 2; *CV. IV Ea* pl. 7, 6. A, heroine and paidagogos. B, two youths.

Bail-amphorae.

13. New York o6.1021.240. Sambon *Coll. Canessa* pl. 10, 124. A, Bellerophon and Chimaera. B, two youths. The horse points onwards to the Rhomboid group (see p. 97).
14. London F200, from Avella. *CV. IV Ea* pl. 10, 6. A, warrior. B, youth.

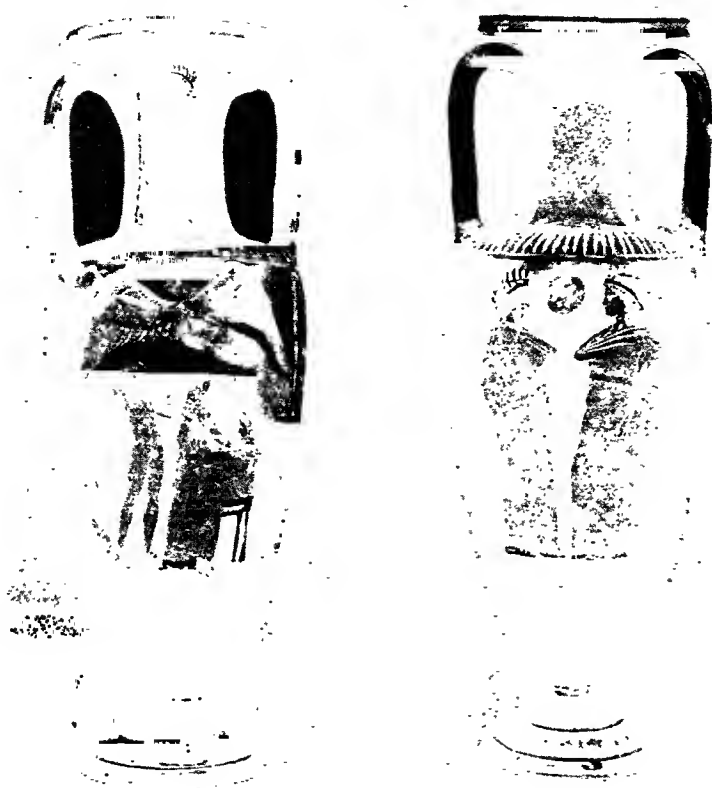


FIG. 15.—NEW YORK o6.1021.239.

Bell-krater.

15. Oxford 528, from Capua. *JHS* 18 pl. 6 and pl. 137, whence (A) Bienkowski *Boreasz i Oreitya* pl. 2, a, and (A) Studniczka *Artemis* 58. A, Boreas and Oreithyia. B, three youths.

Hydriai.

16. Berlin inv. 3164, from Capua. *Anz.* 1890, 90, right; Neugebauer pl. 72. Orestes at Delphi. On the shoulder, gorgoneion. Said to be from the same tomb as no. 1. According to Furtwängler the two vases are by 'very different painters': I am more impressed by the resemblances, but should have liked to see the two side by side.
17. Naples RC. 141, from Cumae. Fiorelli pl. 14, whence *Bull. Nap.* n.s. 5 pl. 10, 18, 47. 1857 pl. 106, and Séchan 509; Pollak *Zwei Vasen* pl. 7, 2. Telephos.

Oinochoe (Shape II?).

18. Cab. Méd. 994. De Ridder 593. Apollo, and young satyr (Marsyas?) with flute.

Of the neck-amphorae, nos. 1-7, 10, 13 have the same shape, and may well be by one potter. No. 8 probably goes with them, although the lines of the foot seem less characteristic. No. 9 is fragmentary, and I have little information about the shape of no. 11. No. 12 is a different and unusual model. The hydriai go with nos. 1-7, 10, and 13.

MANNER OF THE IXION PAINTER.

(i)

Three slight pieces are in much the same case as the London bail-amphora F200, which I have given to the Ixion Painter himself: these also may be his own work, but I am not well informed about them, so I put them here for safety:—

Nuptial lebetes.

1. Toronto 435. A, Robinson and Harcum pl. 81. A, warrior. B, youth.
2. London F204. *CV*. IV Ea pl. 11, 8. A, warrior. B, youth. As the last. The lid is doubtless alien, see note 6.
4. Wilanow, Branicki. B, *CV*. pl. 3 (Pol. 115), 12. A, youth; B, youth.

(ii) *Bell-krater.*

Wilanow, Branicki. B, *CV*. pl. 3 (Pol. 115), 13. A, female head. B, youth. Compare especially the Oxford bell-krater (above, p. 95, no. 15).

(iii) *Bell-krater.*

Once Deepdene, Hope, 302. A, Tillyard pl. 41, 302. A, Nike at an image of Athena. B, two youths. Tillyard ascribed this to 'the same workshop, if not the same hand' as the Berlin Ixion vase.

(iv) *Shape unknown.*

Once Hamilton. Tischbein 2 pl. 16. Unexplained.

The subject is a puzzle. The figure on the right is certainly Apollo, with laurel-staff in one hand and cithara in the other; and is very like the Apollo of the Berlin hydria inv. 3164. But parts, at least, of the cithara, and the back of the chair, must be restored. Something of the tripod-bowl may be ancient, and the young boy sitting in the middle of the picture is plausible in the main: perhaps he held a flute—one of the tubes in his left hand, the other (restored as a spear) in the right: Olympos? There is nothing impossible in the woman, whoever she may be. Much is uncertain: but the picture was worth considering because of its resemblance to the Orestes at Delphi on the hydria, discovered long after, in Berlin.

Of two lebetes, the first seems to be connected with the Ixion Painter by reverse and floral, the second to go with the first:—

(v) *Nuptial lebetes.*

1. London F205. A, Hancarville 1 pl. 117 and 4 pl. 84-5; *CV*. IV Ea pl. 11, 15. A, woman dancing. B, youth.⁶
2. Vienna SK. 244.286. A, La Borde 2 pl. 10. 1. A, woman seated playing lyre.

In *shape*, the following hydriai resemble those of the Ixion Painter, and might even be by the same potter. The patternwork of the London vase is like the Ixion Painter: neck-palmette is the same as in the Berlin hydria inv. 3164, with his favourite inturned spiral petals; the figurework too is related to him. The picture on the Cracow vase is not utterly remote from his style.

Hydriai.

1. London F230. *CV*. IV Ea pl. 8, 6. Grypomachy. At each handle, female head.
2. Cracow 834. Bieńkowski *Boreas i Oreitya* pl. 1 and pl. 2, b; *CV*. pl. 18, 1. Boreas and Oreithyia. At each handle, female head.

⁶ According to Walters (*Cat.* p. 103) the lid of F205 'does not appear to belong to this vase.' The lid the vase is provided with in *CV*. pl. 11, 15 is not that given by Hancarville (4 pl. 84), which may be the lid now set on F204 (pl. 11, 8). In 1896 F204 had 'no cover,' according to Walters *Cat.* p. 103.

The unscrupulous way in which lids are treated in most

museums may be further illustrated from the same plate of the London *Corpus*. The reverse of the lebes F206 (pl. 11, 11a) is figured without a lid, the obverse (pl. 11, 11b) with one: but this lid is the same as appears on F345 (pl. 11, 10 and pl. 12, 11). In Walters' catalogue F345 is said to have no lid.

For the drawing of the saccos on the Cracow vase compare the

Squat lekythos

Boston 03.829, from Campania. Female head.

In *shape*, the Boreas hydria in Capua (*CV.* pl. 14: see below, XXII) is not unlike the hydriai of the Ixion Painter.

XXI. THE PLOUTON PAINTER.

Tillyard (*Hope Vases* 158) saw that these two vases were by one hand.

Bell-kraters.

1. Eton. A. Tischbein 4 pl. 25; A. Cook *Zeus* i pl. 31; A. Tillyard pl. 41.305. A, Herakles and Plouton. B, three youths.
2. Vienna SK. 174.73. A, symposion.

XXII. THE GROUP OF THE CAPUA BOREAS.

These two vases, I think, go together. The style, as in the Ixion Painter, approximates to Attic vases of the later Kerch period.

Hydriai.

1. Naples, from Cumae. *ML.* 22 pl. 96. 4. Women seated at tomb.
2. Capua 7565 (P. 27), from Capua. *CV.* IV Er pl. 14. Boreas and Oreithyia. For the skirt of Boreas, cf. an Italiote bail-amphora, with spout, in Reggio (*VSc.* 1913, suppl., 42 fig. 56; fabric?). but there the wearer is a woman.

XXII.^{bis} THE PAINTER OF CATANIA 737.

Bell-krater.

1. Catania 737. Libertini pl. 84. A, head of warrior; B, rider.

Oinochoe (Shape II).

2. Berkeley 8.3400. Heads of a warrior and of a woman.

Skyphos.

3. Catania 751. Libertini pl. 86. A, head of horse. B, panther.

XXIII. THE RHOMBOID GROUP.

This group of late and corrupt Campanian vases may be so named from the rhomboid which they often use as a sort of filling ornament. The rhomboid, if not confined to the group, is very rare outside it: or say that with hardly any exceptions ⁷ all vases which have the rhomboid either belong to the group or are akin to it in other respects as well.

(i) *The Branicki Painter.*

Bell-kraters.

1. Wilanow, Branicki. A, *CV.* pl. 3 (Pol. 115), 5. A, woman seated, and women. B, three women.
2. Once Ribbesbüttel, Loebbecke. A. *Sg. Loebbecke* pl. 5. 470. A, seated woman. B, female head.
3. Wilanow, Branicki. A, *CV.* pl. 4 (Pol. 116), 1. A, female head. B, the like.
4. Cab. Méd. 941. A, de Ridder pl. 28. A, female head. B, the like.

Calyx-kraters.

5. Compiègne 1027, from Nola. *CV.* pl. 21, 25 and 27. A, Athena seated, and woman. B, three women.
6. Vienna SK. 160.46. La Borde 1 pl. 48, whence (B) *El.* 1 pl. 79. A, symposion. B, Athena seated, with women.

⁷ The rhomboid appears on a pair of late Campanian hydriai, from Naples, in Naples *VSc.* 1935, 278 figs. 20

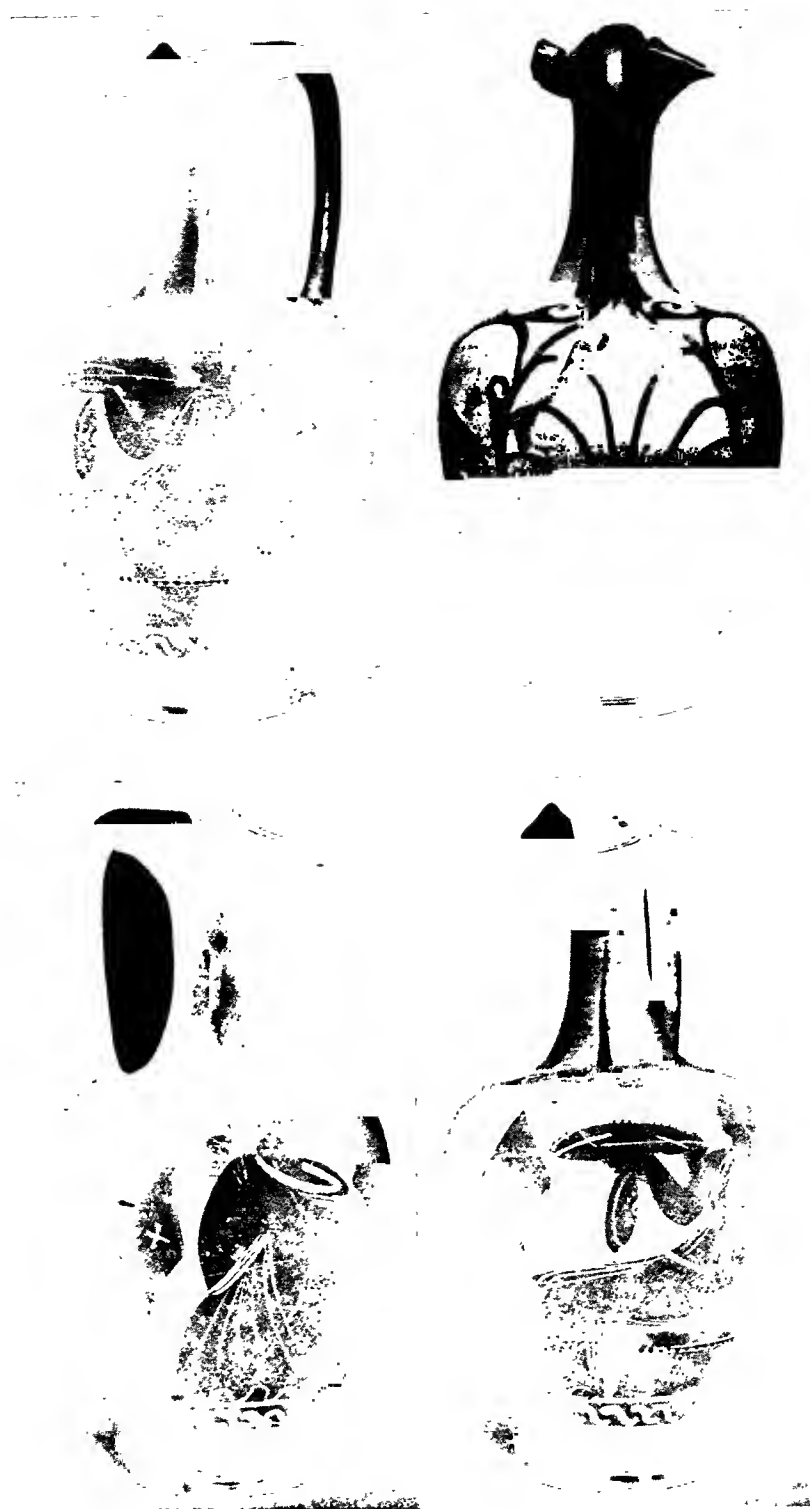


FIG. 16.—OXFORD, BEAZLEY.

Oinochoai (Shape II).

7. Copenhagen 245, from S. Agata. *CV.* pl. 246, 3. Woman seated, and Nike.
8. Oxford, Beazley. Fig. 16. Woman seated, and woman. Ht. .242.
9. Once Englefield. *Moses Vases from the Collection of Sir Henry Englefield, Bart.* pl. 32, 2. Woman seated, and women.

(ii) *The Painter of London F229.**Hydriai.*

1. London F229, from Avella. CV. IV Ea pl. 8, 7. Women and Eros. At each handle, female head.
2. London F231, from Avella. CV. IV Ea pl. 8, 5. Woman seated, and women. At each handle, female head.

Bell-krater.

3. Once Deepdene, Hope, 328. Tischbein 3 pl. 45-6. A, unexplained subject (warrior and woman attacking woman). B, women at tomb. Tischbein omits the rhomboid between the warrior's legs.

Shape unknown (probably calyx-krater or bell-krater).

4. Once Hamilton. Tischbein 2 pl. 53-4. A, symposion. B, three women dancing.

(iii) *Near the Painter of London F229.**Bell-krater.*

1. Once Deepdene, Hope, 325. A, Tischbein 5 pl. 97; A, Gerhard *Ak. Abh.* pl. 66, 2. A, seated women, and woman, at herm. B, women and boy.

Shape unknown.

2. Once Hamilton. Tischbein 3 pl. 21, whence (part) Gerhard *A.B.* pl. 313, 3 and (part) Gerhard *Ak. Abh.* pl. 54, 2. Unexplained subjects. Above, youth seated with spear (or arrow), woman seated, and Nike. Below, goddess (Aphrodite?) driving a biga drawn by a griffin and a panther, and preceded by Eros.

Tischbein⁸ was such a frightful draughtsman that it is natural to think of him as a falsifier too: but as far as the subject-matter goes, he was not essentially this, and for subject his drawings are, in general, to be trusted. But there are exceptions, and this is one: the 'Hermaphrodite' and the tub it stands in by way of chariot-car, cannot be right: I surmise that the lower part of the figure, and the tub, are a restoration; and that the driver was originally female, and clothed from the waist down. I have never seen a Hermaphrodite on a Greek painted vase.

3. Once Hamilton. Tischbein 3 pl. 22. Very likely from the same vase (a neck-amphora?) as the last. Above, women at laver; below women with panthers.
4. Once Hamilton. Tischbein 1 pl. 60, whence *Jb.* 24, 133 and (the upper group, redrawn and garbled) Daremberg and Saglio s.v. *cernuus* fig. 1326. Above, woman tumbler juggling, and seated woman. Below, warriors (gladiators or the like) at tomb.
5. Once Hamilton. Tischbein 4 pl. 54-5. A, above, youth with spear and shield, youth, woman; below, youth attacking a woman. B, woman seated and woman dancing, youth putting on his greaves, woman; below, griffins attacking fawn. This is an extraordinary medley of figures, and I find it hard to stomach the lower group on A: but other parts, such as the two women to the left on A, show unmistakably the style of our group; the animals are convincing; and there is nothing the matter with the other figures. The window with a star in it reappears on London F231, which is not a Hamilton vase.
6. Once Hamilton. Tischbein 5 pl. 63. Women tumblers.
7. Once Hamilton. Tischbein 5 pl. 62. Woman and Erotes. Compare the last.

(iv).

Two of the vases in the above lists, the Deepdene bell-kraters 328 and 325, have been assigned by Tillyard (*Hope Vases* pp. 19-20 and 166-9) to the group he calls 'Campanian doubtful C': together with the five vases that follow:—

Bell-kraters.

- α. Once Deepdene, Hope, 326, from S. Agata. A, Tischbein 1 pl. 31, whence *El.* 1 pl. 13 and Inghirami pl. 47; A, Tillyard pl. 43. A, Zeus in chariot (Gigantomachy). B, three women.

⁸ I use the word Tischbein for convenience, because Tischbein was responsible for the reproductions in *Hamilton Vases*. Actually there were several artists, but 'the Drawings, as well as the Engravings' were 'executed under the Inspection of the Editor . . . Mr. Tischbein, one of the Directors of the Royal Academy of Painting at Naples, whose character as an Artist of the first Class, with respect

to a good Taste, and correct design,' was 'sufficiently established in Italy.' The style is pretty uniform; and no doubt Tischbein took his duties seriously: he very likely went over every drawing himself, not of course in front of the vase, and improved it according to the standards of good taste and correct design.

- β. Once Deepdene, Hope, 327. A. man (youth?) in chariot. B, three women.
 γ. Naples 753. A, symposion. B, three women.
 δ. Vienna SK. 197.81. A, La Borde ii, 17, left. A, Amazonomachy. B, two women.
 ε. Vienna. A, woman seated, and woman. B, three women.

According to Tillyard, β is by the same hand as α. The horse of δ, with its white hoofs and shanks and tiny white head, is like those of α.

I note that four of these vases (α-δ) use the rhomboid as filling (I have no information about the fifth); and that in three of them (α-γ) the peculiar subject on the reverse is 'three muffled women, all facing left, and all alike'—just as in the Compiègne calyx-krater which we have attributed to the Branicki Painter. Add that the clay of the Compiègne vase is said to be a 'greyish yellow'; and the clay or 'Campanian doubtful C' is 'a dirty yellow gray.' Lastly, the degenerate tongue-pattern on the lower part of the handles, with the tongues well spaced out, is the same in α, the Deepdene Zeus vase, as in the two Branicki kraters, and the handle-palmettes, as far as they appear in the reproductions, are the same in the larger of the Branicki kraters as in the Deepdene Zeus. On the other hand, owing to the unusual subject, the obverse of the Zeus krater is not very easy to compare with the vases of the Rhomboid group; and I have hardly any information about Deepdene 326, Naples 753, or the two vases in Vienna. To sum up: I believe that Tillyard's five vases belong to the Rhomboid group; but am uncertain how close they stand to the Branicki Painter and the Painter of London F229.

A lost vase must go with δ in Tillyard's list, Vienna SK 197. 81:—

Shape unknown (bell-krater?).

Once Hamilton. A, Millin 1 pl. 23. A, Amazonomachy.

The following is perhaps to be placed here or in the neighbourhood:—

Bell-krater.

Naples 712, from Basilicata. A, woman fluting and women; B, two women dancing. On B, 'two rhomboids and a rosette.'

I have a summary note of the Naples vase, but none of a krater in Turin briefly described by Heydemann in his *Mittheilungen aus den Antikensammlungen in Ober- und Mittelitalien* p. 42, no. 40: he calls it 'a rough Etruscan imitation,' but since the reverse is said to represent 'three women, wrapt in mantles, solemnly approaching,' I should look, if I were in Turin, to see if the vase might not fall into place here.

{v}.

Two vases go together and may be counted as belonging to the Rhomboid Group. The first was called Apulian by Pagenstecher (*Anz.* 1910, 467) but is Campanian.

*Nuptial lebes, with spout.*⁹

1. Eschersheim, Haeblerlin. A, *Anz.* 1910, 467. A, woman (maid). B, Nike. On the lid, female heads. The knob, in the form of a bottle, is decorated in the 'Gnathia' technique.

Squat lekythos.

2. Toronto 430. Robinson and Harcum pl. 81. Woman seated and woman (mistress and maid). The drapery of the standing woman is very like that of the maid on the Haeblerlin vase, and there are other resemblances. The proportions of the figures are different, the Haeblerlin maid being dwarfed to fit in under the spout. There is a rhomboid on the Haeblerlin vase, and in the Toronto 'a kite-like object' (invisible in the photograph) which sounds from the description like a rhomboid.

⁹ Other nuptial lebetes with spout, all late Campanian: (Naples?, from Teano (rf.: see p. 108, no. 6; Naples, from Cumae (*ML.* 22 pl. 109, 6: Kemai Group, see p. 110); Naples, from Cumae *ML.* 22 pl. 110, 1: white with dark

bands); Naples?, from Pompeii (*VSc.* 1916, 292 fig. 3, b: plain (?) with dark bands); three others from the same excavation as the last (mentioned *ibid.* 293 note 1).

Akin to these, and to the Rhomboid Group, is the

Squat lekythos

London F247. Hancarville 3 pl. 71; *CV*. IV Ea pl. 9, 1. Woman running with tympanon and wreath.



FIG. 17.—ONCE MUNICH, PREYSS.

XXIV. TWO LEKANAI.

Schefold (*Untersuchungen* p. 138) observed that these were imitations of Attic lekanai from the last decades of the fourth century. Eros in both is already a mere infant with small wings.¹¹

1. Goettingen J. 51. from Cumae. The lid, Jacobsthal *Gott.* I. pl. 19, 55. Women at altar; woman seated; women, Eros; woman seated and woman with thyrsus. Does the knob belong?
2. Naples RC38. from Cumae. Part. *ML.* 22 pl. 97, 2. Nike seated, woman with tympanon seated; women and Eros.

XXV.

This section may end with two groups of small vases decorated with female heads. Both groups are very late and might even have found place in the next section but one.

(i) *Three round pyxides.*

Painted by different hands but connected by shape and by type of decoration:—

1. Once Munich, Preyss. Fig. 17. A, female head. On the lid, ivy.
2. London F474. A, CV. IV Ea pl. 12, 10. Female heads. On the lid, ivy.
3. Cambridge 253. CV. pl. 45, 6. Female heads. On the lid, ivy.

A fourth vase has the same shape, but I have not noted the style of the drawing:—

Carlsruhe B195. Female heads.

Very like these in shape, but a little simpler, is a black pyxis, from the Lipari Islands, in Oxford, 1944.21.

(ii) *Two bottles by one hand.*

1. Copenhagen 295. CV. pl. 248, 5. Female head.
2. Compiègne 1076, from Nola. CV. pl. 26, 8. Female head.

G. BARBARIZED

This is not too hard a word for the vases, mostly small, in this section: it does not follow that all or any of them are the work of barbarians; but that the Riccardi painter, in particular, was no Greek, I would willingly believe.

XXVI. THE SIAMESE PAINTER.

Neck-amphora.

1. Capua 7561 (P. 17), from Capua. CV. IV Er pl. 21, 1 and 4, and pl. 24, 3. Unexplained representations: A, woman with two heads and three faces; B, woman with two faces and four legs. On the neck, A, female head, B, the like.

Bail-amphorae.

2. Toronto 392. A, Robinson and Harcum pl. 71. A, female head. B, the like.
3. Capua, from Capua. CV. IV Er pl. 31, 1 and 4. Man's head. On the neck, A, female head, B, the like.

Bell-krater.

4. Capua 7952 (P. 40), from Capua. CV. IV Er pl. 38, 6, 8, and 11. A, woman running. B, head of young satyr. Mingazzini saw that this was by the same hand as Capua 7561.

Skyphoi.

5. Capua, from Capua. CV. IV Er pl. 45, 3 and 7. A, female head; B, the like. Restored. Mingazzini saw that this was by the same hand as Capua pl. 45, 5.
6. Naples, from Caivano. A, NSc. 1931, 589, iii. A, female head; B, the like. Found in the same tomb as two vases by the Caivano Painter and a small bronze coin of Neapolis.
7. Capua, from Capua. CV. IV Er pl. 45, 4 and 6 and pl. 44, 9. A, female head; B, the like. Mingazzini saw that this was by the same hand as Capua pl. 31, 1 and Capua pl. 45, 3.

Cf. also the

Bell-krater

London F492, from Capua. *Bull. Nap.* n.s. 3 pl. 2, 1-2. A, six female heads; B, female head.

XXVII. THE MAJEWSKI PAINTER.

Bell-kraters.

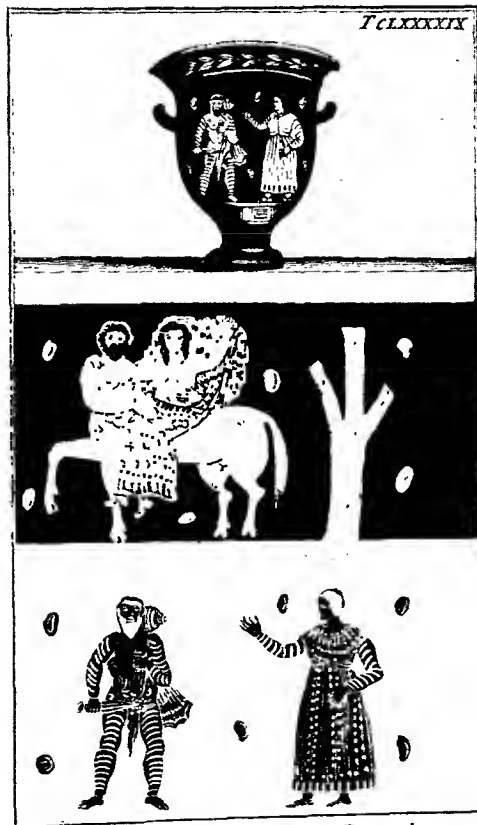
1. London. A, Tischbein 2 pl. 57, whence Dieterich *Pulcinella* 239; Tillyard pl. 43, 329. A, warrior and squire; B, horseman and women.
2. Capua, from Capua. CV. IV Er pl. 38, 2 and 4-5. A, horseman; B, Pegasus.

Skyphos.

3. Warsaw, Majewski Museum, inv. 16288. Bernhard *Wazy greckie w Muzeum im. E. Majewskiego w Warszawie* pl. 12; Bernhard *Skyphos czerwonofigurowy w zbiorach E. Majewskiego w Warszawie* pl. 1, whence fig. 18. A, mounted warrior; B, the like.



FIG. 18.—WARSAW, MAJEWSKI MUSEUM.



In Museo G. March Vincenti Riccardi

FIG. 19.—AFTER PASSERI Pl. 199.

XXVIII. THE RICCARDI PAINTER.

Nos. 1-3 have already been put together by Albizzati (*Mél. d'arch.* 37 p. 112 nos 18-20 and p. 160). He calls them Etruscan, but no. 4, which is in the same barbarous style, was found at Capua, and this is against the group being Etruscan.

Bell-kraters.

1. Once Rome, Marchese Vincenzo Riccardi. Passeri pl. 199, whence Fig. 19. A, Nessos and Deianeira. B, unexplained.
2. Vatican. A, *Mél. d'arch.* 37, 163. A, satyr and seated maenad; B, seated satyr and maenad.
3. Brussels, private. A, *Mél. d'arch.* 37, 162. A, satyr placing the plastinx on the kottabos-stand, and maenad. B, 'Apollo and women with branch at altar.'

Oinochoe.

4. Capua 234, from Capua. *CV. IV Er* pl. 49, 2 and 4. Young satyr.

Skyphos.

5. London F488. Fig. 20. A, youth. B, woman.

XXIX. THE VITULAZIO PAINTER.

Bell-kraters.

1. Capua 7539, from Capua. *CV. IV Er* pl. 38, 10 and 12. A, female head; B, the like.
2. London F496. *CV. IV Ea* pl. 5, 1. A, female head; B, the like.
3. Capua, from Vitulazio. A, *ASc.* 1930, 551 fig. 6. A, female head; B, the like. Found with a small rf. lekane, two black bell-kraters, Campanian vases stamped and black, and a plain vase.

H. SICILIAN?

XXX.

The skyphoid pyxis is of some importance in Italiote vase-painting,¹⁰ and one example has been mentioned already, Naples 856 (Patroni, frontispiece = p. 84), which was associated on p. 92 with Group A.P.Z. Two large vases very like it in shape must now be considered:—

- α. New York market (Canessa), from South Italy or Sicily (so Gàbrici: the Canessa catalogue says Ruvo, which is not very probable). *Coll. Borelli Bey* pl. 20, whence *Mon. Piot* 24, 201; A, *The Canessa Coll.* no. 56. A, woman seated, and women; B, woman seated, and women. On the lid: Eros and women; seated woman, and youth (satyr?).

¹⁰ Here is a list of Campanian skyphoid pyxides:—

- α. London F473. *CV. IV Ea* pl. 11, 4. A, Eros seated; B, seated woman. On the lid, ivy. Compare the nuptial lebes Catania 743, from Centuripe (A, *Libertini Mus. Biscari* pl. 85).
- β. Catania 750A. A, *Libertini Mus. Biscari* pl. 85. A, female head. On the lid, ivy.
- γ. Agrigento, Giuffrida. A, female head. On the lid, ivy.

In drawing, α looks earlier than β and γ: but in shape the three go together, and all three lids are decorated with ivy. The knob has the same form in γ as in β; in α it is lost.

- δ. Bologna. *CV. IV Dr* pl. 32, 20, below. The lower part of the museum exhibit is evidently the lid of such a pyxis as Catania 750A (the upper part of it is from a round pyxis, see p. 102, or something similar).

- ε. Naples 856. See p. 92.

- ξ. New York market (Canessa). See p. 104.

- η. Palermo. See p. 105.

- θ. Moscow 510. See p. 106.

- ι. Once Adernò, Canfarelli. See p. 107.

- κ. Lost, from Ragusa in Sicily. The shape. *Ann.* 1867, 115. A, maenad seated and Eros. B, maenad seated playing tympanon and satyr dancing. On the lid, vine.

- λ. Catania, market (Pappalardo), from Centuripe. *RM.* 15, 263, *above*. On the lid, satyrs and maenads. Restored. The lid must be part of a skyphoid pyxis, but cannot belong to the vessel on which it lies in the figure: see p. 107.

- μ. Naples?, from Teano. See p. 108, no. 7.

- v. Naples, from Cumae. A, *ML.* 22 pl. 99, 1. A, female head; B, the like. A simpler model. The vase was found with a couple of 'tear-bottles,' and is late.

The following is not a red-figured vase: the drawing is in dark red outlines, with white details, and a violet background. Akin to α-η in shape.

- Naples, from Cumae. *ML.* 22, 635-7 and pll. 119-20. A, much damaged: unexplained subject. B, female head. On the lid, Nereids with the armour of Achilles.

The shape is also used in the fabric of Centuripe: e.g. *Libertini Centuripe* pl. 44, 1 and 3, pl. 51, pl. 58; *Metz. Mus. St.* 2, 198, and 2, 194, both in New York.

Lastly:—

- Naples, from Cumae. *ML.* 22 pl. 110, 7. Plain, with black bands.

The skyphoid pyxis is also found in 'Apulian': the huge Lecce 683, from Egnazia (*CV. IV Dr* pl. 32 and pl. 33, 1: restored) is earlier than any of the Campanian examples. Another vase of the same shape as Lecce 683 is Berlin 3382 + 3260: Italiote, but I have not noted the fabric: Furtwangler ranked it as Apulian, while Neugebauer (p. 145) places it in the section 'Paestan, and Campanian influenced by Paestan.' A variant, of lighter make, with the bowl formed as a skyphos of Corinthian type, appears in Apulian of A.P. style: Bologna P.C. 640 (*CV. IV Dr* pl. 36, 10-11: Bologna P.C. 643 *ibid.* pl. 36, 12-13).

Another skyphoid pyxis is in Reggio, from Reggio (*N.Sr.* 1936, 76): 'Gnathia' technique, but I do not know the fabric.

β. Palermo, from Falcone (prov. Messina). *Mon. Piot* 24 pll. 12-14 and pp. 186 and 189; A, Marconi *Mus. Naz. di Palermo* pl. 57, below; A, Pace *Arte e civiltà della Sicilia antica* ii, pl. p. 472 (the colours quite different from those given in *Mon. Piot*). A, Silenos seated and maenads. B, woman seated and Nike. On the lid, A, Nike seated at altar, and women; B, woman seated, and women.

It must be remembered that the knob of the Palermo pyxis is modern; but in all other respects the shape of the three vases, Naples, Canessa, Palermo, is nearly the same; notice especially the handles. In drawing, on the other hand, they have nothing in common, save that in Canessa as in Palermo the composition of the chief picture is derived from free painting, stands outside ceramic tradition, and has no parallel on Campanian vases. Something of



FIG. 20.—BRITISH MUSEUM F488.



FIG. 21.—CARTHAGE.

C.A. Painter's manner may still be detected in the drawing of the Canessa pyxis. If the style of the Palermo vase has any analogies in Campanian, it is not with the C.A. Painter, but with very late Campanian red-figure—the T.T. Group and the Minturnae hydria (see p. 108). Yet the three scyphoid pyxides are so alike in shape that no very long interval, one would think, can separate the Palermo vase from the Canessa and the Naples.

The seated figures of the Canessa pyxis recall, on the one hand, as was said already, the manner of the C.A. Painter, and on the other certain small bottles or sprinklers, with single figures of seated women, naked from the middle up:—

1. Oxford 1944.21, from the Lipari Islands. The woman is seated to left, her left hand resting on a small pillar behind her, her right hand holding a fillet and a large phiale with fruit in it. The shape is the same as in a bottle, from Alexandria, in Heidelberg *Expedition Sieglin* ii, 3 p. 26; except that the neck is set off more sharply.

2. Syracuse 2425. The woman is seated to right.
3. Syracuse. Placed beside 2425 in the museum, and very like it.

I do not know if the provenience of the Syracuse vases is recorded: there is a certain presumption that they were found in Sicily. The Oxford vase came from the collection of James Stevenson, sold at Sotheby's on June 13th 1944: according to a statement in the sale catalogue the pottery was found by his staff on the edge of the crater of the volcano on the Island of Vulcano: but this may be a confusion of two facts: that Stevenson *owned* the Island of Vulcano, and that he *excavated* in the island of Lipari (Murray in *JHS* 7 pp. 51-6; Libertini *Le isole eolie* pp. 200-1). In any case I take the provenience 'Lipari Islands' to be assured.

A fourth skyphoid pyxis must be earlier than the Palermo vase, but resembles it in the copious use of added colours and in having been found in Sicily. I do not know whether in details of shape it bears any special resemblance to the three: from Benndorf's description one would say not: he does not reproduce the shape, but says it is the same as in the Ragusa vase figured in *Anz.* 1867 p. 120; knob and handles of which are not as in the three.

- γ. Moscow 510, from Adernò. A, Benndorf *GSV.* pl. 45, 1. A, mistress, seated, and maids. B, maenad seated. On the lid, floral.

The floral designs at the handles are thoroughly Campanian: the figurework, however, or at least such part of it as is published, is not in the Campanian tradition, but recalls Attic vases of the Kerch style at its zenith, as it appears, for example, in the great nuptial lebes from Kerch in Leningrad (Lukyanov and Grinyevich in *Materiali* 1 pll. 1-4; Schefold *Kertscher Vasen* pll. 19-20; Schefold *Untersuchungen* pll. 33-4) or the calyx-krater in Oxford (*JHS* 59 pll. 2-6 and pp. 35-44). In the third quarter of the fourth century a new and powerful influence came into Attic vase-painting, and under this the last masterpieces of the art were created. The same influence pervades the Moscow picture, whether the artist is imitating Attic vases, or using the same source, directly or indirectly, as they. As to the date, if the Moscow picture were Attic, I believe it would be placed about 330 or 320 B.C., and even allowing for a certain time-lag in Italy, I doubt if it can be much later. One feature might point to a date nearer the end of the century: the age of the Eros, who is possibly a somewhat younger child than in any Attic red-figure.¹¹

A minor vase that bears some resemblance to the Moscow pyxis is the squat lekythos

- Carthage, Mus. Lavigerie, from Carthage. Delattre *Carthage. Nécropole Punique voisine de Sainte-Monique.* 2^{me} trimestre des fouilles, avril-juin 1898, 12, whence Fig. 21; Boulanger *Mus. Lavigerie* suppl. i pl. 10, 1. Ht. 153. Mistress and maid. Fr. Delattre's explanation of the action must be correct: the girl is helping her mistress to adjust her earrings.

There is one peculiarity shared by the Carthage vase with the Moscow which is rare in vase-painting: rows of short hatched lines are used for the lesser folds of the drapery. This is part of the metal-engraver's technique: such lines, for the inner modelling of the body and for folds of drapery, are very common in the Greek, Etruscan, Praenestine mirrors and the Praenestine cistae of the fourth and third centuries: three examples will suffice: the Greek mirror Louvre 1700 (de Ridder *Bronzes du Louvre* pl. 82), the Etruscan mirror London 635 (Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel*, suppl., 5 pl. 150), and the Ficoroni cista (Pfuhl pl. 254). Similar lines are not infrequently used in later Etruscan red-figure for the inner modelling of the body: for instance in the calyx-kraters London F480 (*Mon.* 2 pl. 8; Jacobsthal *Aktaiens Tod* p. 15) and Cabinet des Médailles 920 (*Mon.* 2 pl. 9), or the column-krater Berlin inv. 3986 (Jacobsthal *O.* pl. 149): more about this in my *Etruscan Red-figure Vase-painting*. In Italiote vase-painting, outside Campanian, they are rare: I recall the stamnos by the Ariadne Painter in Boston, 00.349 (A, FR. ii p. 105 fig. 31; Trendall *Frühitaliotische Vasen* pl. 23). In Attic red-figure I

¹¹ On Eros as an infant, see *Raccolta Guglielmi* i p. 70. It is thought that the Erotes who played with Alexander's armour in Action's picture must have been infants, but just

what age they were is naturally uncertain. Some of the Erotes on Attic vases of the late fifth century are already very young.

do not recall them: the hatching on the late white lekythoi published by Winter (*Eine attische Lekythos des Berliner Museums*) is a rather different matter.

Benndorf compared the skyphoid pyxis in Moscow with another vase from the same site:—

Oinochoe (Shape Va).

Leningrad, from Adernò. Benndorf pl. 44, whence *WV.* B pl. 3, 3 and *RM.* 47, 127. Herakles in love.

An unusual representation: the hero, who appears to be in liquor, lies on a lady's doorstep, and is watered from a chamber-pot by the old nurse; maenads and satyrs have been his escort.

The drawing is akin to that of the Moscow pyxis, but less like Attic: Herakles, the duenna, above all the satyrs, are in a very characteristic un-Attic manner. The egg-pattern above the picture is misrendered in Benndorf's drawing: the eggs are rounded below, not pointed. Above this band, red-figured ivy, the leaves edged with white, the inflorescence also white; on the neck of the vase, long black tongues, of the same type as in Fig. 16, but close-set. The mouth of the vase is black.

Trendall (*JHS* 60 p. 107) associates the Leningrad oinochoe with two other vases: the Lloyd calyx-krater in Oxford, which has been described above (p. 93), and another fine vase of the same shape:—

Calyx-krater.

Leontini, from Leontini. *A, Mon.* 4 pl. 12; *A, Jb.* 1, 279, whence *WV.* B pl. 3, 2, Walters *H.A.P.* i, 474, Dörpfeld and Reisch 324, *Jb.* 15, 68, Bieber *Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen* 144, Bieber *Hist. of the Theater* 265; detail of *A, ibid.* 266. *A*, phlyakes: Herakles and a priestess (Auge?). *B*, woman seated with thyrsus, and woman.

The two calyx-kraters look earlier than the vases in Leningrad and Moscow, but the comparison seems to me apt: I note the same ease and suavity in the drawing, the same characteristic rendering of the hands (see above, p. 93); and am sorry I know so little about the vases in Leontini and Moscow, especially the unpublished reverses.¹² It must be noticed, however, that the clay of the Leontini vase is said to be pale, whereas the colour of the Lloyd krater is a rich reddish-brown (p. 93).

Benndorf (*Anz.* 1867 pp. 121–2) described another skyphoid pyxis from the same site as Moscow 510, and pronounced it to be 'in the same style': but it is unpublished, and seems to have disappeared:—

Once Adernò, Placido Canfarelli, from Adernò. *A*, women sitting at fountain, and women. *B*, woman seated, with tympanon.

It is natural to look among the phlyax vases and see if any of them resemble the krater in Leontini. The following vase comes nearest, but is not in the same style:—

Skyphos.

Milan, Scala, from Centuripe. *RM.* 15 pl. 6 and p. 263; *A, Cat. Jules Sambon* pl. 2, 33; *A, Cat. del Mus. Teatrale alla Scala* pl. at p. 52; *A*, phot. R.I. 1521 (the same as in *RM.*), whence Bieber *Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen* pl. 81 and Bieber *Hist. of Theater* 267. *A*, phlyakes: Herakles and Alcestis (Rizzo). *B*, woman seated and women. Rizzo calls the vase a skyphoid pyxis: the lid he figures on it (*RM.* 15, 263: see p. 104) comes from such a vase, but cannot belong, and seems indeed to have been now discarded.

Nearly all the vases mentioned in this chapter are known to have been found in Sicily. This might be chance, but the possibility (it is no more) that they were also made there is not to be dismissed. That Sicilian fabrics should have points of contact with Campanian would be natural enough. The Sicilian origin is maintained by Pace in his article *Ceramiche figurate di fabbrica siceliota* and his book *Arte e civiltà della Sicilia antica*; but contested by others; and I cannot contribute anything new to the controversy.

¹² Trendall mentions another vase as having affinities with those in Leningrad, Leontini, Oxford, and that is the

bell-krater with Marsyas, Copenhagen inv. 3757 (CV. pl. 245 1), but here I cannot follow him.

J. THE LATEST CAMPANIAN RED-FIGURE

(i)

XXXI. THE T.T. GROUP.

The T.T. Group (for 'Teano-Tübingen') consists of six vases found in a single tomb, no. 62, at Teano,¹³ and a pair of hydriai in Tübingen.¹⁴ It represents a very late stage of Campanian red-figure.

Hydriai.

1. Naples? from Teano. *ML.* 20, 111 fig. 80. Nike seated and women.
2. Tübingen F34, 1. Watzinger pl. 47. Two women at altar.
3. Tübingen F34, 2. Replica of the last.
4. Naples?, from Teano. *ML.* 20, 111 fig. 81. Replica of the last two.
5. Naples?, from Teano. Replica of the last.

Nuptial lebes (with spout).

6. Naples?, from Teano. *ML.* 20, 114 fig. 83. Two seated women; female head. On the shape see above, p. 100; on the knob, below, p. 109.

Skyphoid Pyxis.

7. Naples?, from Teano. A, *ML.* 20, 113 fig. 82. A, woman seated, and women. B, woman seated. The lid is wanting, but the bowl is grooved to take one.

Lekane.

8. Naples?, from Teano. *ML.* 20, 110. Nike; seated woman.

(ii)

XXXII. HYDRIA

From Minturnae. *Boll. stud. med.* 5 pl. 20, 1-2. A, seated woman and women (mistress and maids). B, two youths. On the shoulder, A, two lion-griffins with a flower between. At the lower junction of the back-handle, plastic head of Silenos.

This very late red-figure vase stands by itself, but has a certain kinship with the T.T. Group (above, XXXI). According to Miss Lake, in her valuable study of the pottery from Minturnae, the general context in which the hydria was found belongs to the first half of the third century.

(iii)

XXXIII. THE HEAD-CRUE T CLASS.

The vase consists of a concave-sided ring (scotia) supporting four small, lidded, usually handleless pyxides of stamnid form, joined by a small ring, laid on edge, for lifting. Between each pair of pyxides there is nearly always a plastic female head, of florid early Hellenistic style, set on the supporting ring. No. 4 gives a good clean-cut version of the head.

The supporting ring has red-figure decoration: either female heads alternating with palmettes; or floral (palmettes, wreath).

These cruets are very late. Nos. 2 and 3 were found at Teano in Tomb 62, which contained, among other things, very late Campanian red-figure of the T.T. Group (see above, XXXI), and vases from the fabric of Teano. No. 8 was found in Tomb 58 at Teano, also with Teanan vases.

1. Capua, from Capua. *CV.* IV Er pl. 49, 19. Female heads.
2. Naples?, from Teano. *ML.* 20, 115 fig. 85, a. Female heads.
3. Naples?, from Teano. *ML.* 20, 115 fig. 85, c. Female heads.

¹³ Other contents of this tomb, see below, XXXIII.

same as those from Tomb 62 at Teano.

¹⁴ Watzinger implies that the Tübingen pair are not the

4. Vienna, Oest. Mus., iv. 506. Kretschmer *Das homerische δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον* pl. 4, 1. Female heads.
5. Amsterdam inv. 3415, from Rome. *CV*. Scheurleer IV Eb pl. 1 (Pays Bas pl. 47), 2. Female heads.
6. Capua 8756 (P. 188), fr., from Capua. *CV*. IV Er pl. 50, 22. Laurel.
7. Yale 330. Baur 195. Laurel.
8. Naples?, from Teano. *ML*. 20, 103 fig. 72, a. Palmettes.
9. Toronto 610. Robinson and Harcum pl. 96. Palmettes. In this and the next two, which go with it, the pyxides have stamnos-handles.
10. Toronto 611. Robinson and Harcum pl. 97. Palmettes.
11. Boston 41.650. Palmettes.
12. Capua, from Capua. *CV*. IV Er pl. 49, 21. Laurel. There are no plastic heads.

The following belong to the same class, but the decoration is not red-figure.

1. Yale 331. Baur 195. 'Black bands, horizontal strokes, and dots.' The plastic heads are replaced by knobs.
2. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg, H164. *Bildertafeln des Etruskischen Museums* pl. 56, 2. White slip; in black (brown), with red details, 'metopes,' each decorated with a rosette, alternating with 'triglyphs.' Five vessels instead of four.
3. From Teano. *ML*. 20, 131 fig. 101. Either the same as the last, or a replica.

There is a vase of similar type, Teanan fabric, in London (without number): no plastic heads; high handle.¹⁵

Lastly, a cruet in Paris should find a place in this context, but I know it only from the half-inch-high reproduction:—

Louvre ED 238. Pottier *Le dessin chez les grecs* pl. 16, 110. Wreath.

(iv)

XXXIV. THE KEMAI GROUP.

The last stages of Campanian red-figure are linked not only with Teanan, but with a class of non-red-figure vases to which I shall give the name of 'kemai,' from the first line of the long and curious Greek inscription painted on one of them before firing. Linked in three ways: for, first, 'kemais' are found in the same tombs as very late Campanian red-figure (Teano, tomb 61, *ML*. 20 p. 114; Cumae, tomb 157, *ML*. 22 p. 622); secondly, a kemai serves as a knob on the lid of a red-figure vase belonging to the T.T. group (*ML*. 20 p. 114: above, p. 108, no. 6); and thirdly, one kemai is actually decorated in red-figure, Würzburg 884, no. 1 in the following list.

The Kemai Class was recognised by Patroni (p. 113, paragraph 2) and more particularly studied by Gábrici (*ML*. 22 pp. 705-6).

The commonest shape is a small stamnoid vessel with a lid; sometimes there are vestigial handles, cleaving closely to the neck; sometimes there are no handles.

The decoration, simple, consists of black pattern-work on a reserved ground, and white patternwork on a black ground.

My list is far from complete.

¹⁵ In other cruets, the supporting ring is of the same type, but the vessels are open and kantharoid or lydion-like, and there are other differences: such cruets are that from Pozzuoli in the University of Baltimore (*CV*. Robinson iii pl. 28, 3) and that in Naples from Teano with which Robinson compares it (*ML*. 20, 138 fig. 106, b); a third, from the Hamilton collection, in London, seemed to me Teanan, and I take the others to be Teanan too.

Hamburg 1917.963. is described by Mercklin in *Anz.* 1928, 345, as a replica of the Naples vase.

A substantive vessel of the same shape as the Naples quintuplets was found in the same tomb as Teano, no. 79,

as they (*ML*. 20, 105 fig. 105, a), which contained other Teanan vases, among them one with the signature of Athanas.

Various other types of Italiote cruet: Harvard 2290 (*CV*. pl. 37, 5). Rome. Mus. Art. Ind. (*R.M.* 38, 115). Baltimore, Robinson (*CV*. iii pl. 27, 1: by the Primato Painter, see *A.J.A.* 1939, 633-5). Toronto 455 (Robinson and Harcum pl. 83 and p. 255); Catania 835 (Libertini *Mus. Biscari* pl. 95: cf. the last). Yale 332, from Teano (*ML*. 20, 71 fig. 39; Baur 195), and a near-replica in London (white number 1755) which I thought Teanan.

Kemais.

Nos. 1-12 have handles, nos. 15-28 none; I do not know about nos. 13 and 14.

1. Würzburg 884. B, *Sg. Vogell* pl. 5, 13; A, Langlotz pl. 250. A, female head; B, the like. The palmettes are red-figure, and so is the head on B; the head on A is painted white. Compare the bottle Copenhagen 294, from Basilicata (CV. pl. 248, 7).¹⁶ The lid of the Würzburg vase is not a good fit; but may, it is thought, belong; an ancient replacement is also possible.
- 1a. Lost. Gargiulo *Cenni sulla maniera di rinvenire i vasi fittili italo-greci* pl. 10, lower middle. A, female head. This seems not to be the same as the last.
2. London B507, from Nola (according to Walters; Pompeii according to *Bull.* 1845, 13). *Mon.* suppl. pl. 31, 1.

The inscription, like the shape, is very incorrectly rendered in *Monumenti*. My own readings tally with Walters's (*B.M. Cat.* iv p. 218), only that in line 4 of the second column I was not sure of the third letter, and in line 8 of the second. In each line, a word, a couple of words, or parts of words; a few of the items are no more than possible Greek letter-sequences. Two syllables in each line, except ΔΟΛΙΕ and BPA. All lines end in a vowel, except ΟΤΩΣ. I do not find anything just like this among the school-exercises published by J. G. Milne (*JHS* 28 pp. 121-32) or Ziebarth (*Aus dem griechischen Schulwesen; Aus der antiken Schule*). The nearest approach is the writing on two fragments of a lekanis-lid (not 'a plate' or 'an amphora') in Athens (Acr. 1320: Benndorf *G.S.V.* pl. 29, 5 and pp. 49-50 no. 5; Langlotz pl. 92¹⁷): but there the inscriptions are incised, not painted before firing as in the London vase.

The Athens inscription might be a dictation; and so perhaps, I suppose, might ours. Odd, that a dictation should have been taken down on a leather-hard pot; but not impossible. If so, some of the items may have been misheard or mis-spelt.

The first diphthong in the word κεῖμαι is impure: but I doubt whether the impure εἰ could be written ε as late as this.

3. Naples?, from Pompeii. *NSc.* 1916, 293, fig. 4, c.
4. Naples, from Ponticelli (near Naples). *NSc.* 1922, 267.
5. Naples, from Ponticelli. *NSc.* 1922, 264. In the mouth of the dead there was a bronze coin of Neapolis, dated by Giglioli in the second half of the fourth century B.C.: it is not reproduced, but Dr. J. G. Milne tells me that such coins are not later than 270 B.C.
6. Naples, from Cumae. *ML.* 22 pl. 109, 5.
7. Copenhagen 366, from Cumae. *CV.* pl. 231, 9.
8. Naples?, from Teano. *ML.* 20, 114 fig. 84, e.
9. Wilno, Society of Friends. *CV.* pl. 2 (Pol. pl. 125), 5.
- 10-11. London (two).
12. Copenhagen 32, from Nola. *CV.* pl. 232, 1.
13. London, Prof. J. A. K. Thomson and Miss G. H. Macurdy.
14. Odessa. *Zapiski Odess.* 28 pl. 5, 8.
- 15-16. London (two).
17. Bowdoin 28.7.
18. Once Capua, Vetta, from Capua. *Bull. Nap.* n.s. 2 pl. 12, 12.
19. Naples?, from Teano. *ML.* 20, 139 fig. 108, b.
20. London, Prof. J. A. K. Thomson and Miss G. H. Macurdy.
21. Naples. Patroni 112, 10.
22. Naples. Patroni 112, 8.
23. Oxford.
24. Copenhagen 365, from Cumae. *CV.* pl. 231, 8.
25. Brussels A145. *CV.* IV Be pl. 1, 5.
26. Goluchow, Prince Czartoryski, 218. *CV.* pl. 51, 9.
27. Toronto 445. Robinson and Harcum pl. 80.
28. Sèvres 290. *CV.* pl. 48, 33.
29. Compiègne. *CV.* pl. 25, 13. Should be the strayed lid of a kemai.

Nuptial lebes (with spout).

30. Naples, from Cumae. *ML.* 22 pl. 109, 6.

¹⁶ The Copenhagen bottle somewhat recalls the bottle from Pompeii, *NSc.* 1916, 292 fig. 3, a, found with late vases; and the squat lekythos Bologna PC. 454 (*CV.* IV Er pl. 6, 11).

¹⁷ In the larger fragment I take the middle letter of the second and third lines to be gamma, the first letter of the fourth, the last of the fifth, and in the smaller fragment the first of the third to be theta.

Squat lekythoi.

31. Naples, from Cumae. *ML.* 22 pl. 108, 5. Found with a rf. nuptial lebes and two rf. lekanai (*ibid.* p. 622).
32. Naples, from Cumae. *ML.* 22, 794 fig. 265, 1. Found with a rf. lekane (*ibid.* 750 fig. 265, 2).

Thuribles.

(1)

33. Once Capua, Vetta, from Capua. *Bull. Nap.* n.s. 2 pl. 12, 9.
34. Naples. Patroni 112, 9.
35. Naples, from Cumae. *ML.* 22 pl. 108, 4.

(2)

36. Naples, from Cumae. *ML.* 22 pl. 108, 6. Found with kemais and a bf. Campanian lekythos (*ibid.* p. 669)

J. D. BEAZLEY

NOTES

A Greek Inscription from the Persian Gulf.—Towards the close of 1938 Professor Bernard Ashmole sent me a photograph, taken by Miss Freya Stark, of an inscription discovered by her on an island near the head of the Persian Gulf, and suggested that I should publish it in this *Journal*. This I do with the kind permission of Miss Stark, to whom I here express afresh my sincere thanks.

'The island,' Miss Stark writes, 'is called Failichah and is close to the modern town of Kuwait. . . . The stone was uncovered while ploughing and taken from its site, but the site was shown me and looked as if more might be discovered by digging. As far as I know, my description in my book is the only published reference.'

The description of Failichah occupies a chapter in Miss Stark's *Baghdad Sketches* (London, 1937), in which occurs the sentence 'Here we were told of beads and bracelets found sometimes when the ground is ploughed, and of an inscription discovered years ago and carried off by the Royal Navy; and came to the conclusion that, of all the vanished cities of Failichah, Sa'd and Sa'id is the one to look at for the temples of Artemis and Apollo' (p. 205).

Of the nature and dimensions of the stone (Fig. 1) I know nothing. The text of the inscription is as follows:

Σωτέλ[ης]
'Αθηναί[ος]
καὶ οἱ στρα[τ-]
Δι Σωτήρι
5 Ποσειδῶνι
'Αρτέμιδι
Σωτείραι.



FIG. 1.—GREEK INSCRIPTION FROM THE PERSIAN GULF.

The text is complete except at the ends of ll. 1, 2, 3. In l. 1 the restoration Σωτέλ[ης] is highly probable, though Σωτέλ[ιδης] is a possible alternative; in either case a patronymic may have followed, though I think it more likely that the name stood alone. Similarly in l. 2 the ethnic 'Αθηναίος may have been accompanied by a word indicating office or rank, but more probably it occupied the whole line. The restoration of l. 3 presents greater difficulty. Στρα[τηγοί] must, I think, be rejected in favour of στρα[πώ-ται], στρα[τευόμενοι] or στρα[τευσάμενοι], but I hesitate to

express a preference between these three.¹ It is uncertain whether the soldiers in question were themselves Athenians or a mercenary body under an Athenian leader.

Two features of the inscription do, I admit, cause me some surprise, if not misgiving. First, I should have expected that the relationship of Soteles to the men referred to in l. 3 would be indicated by some such phrase as οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ, οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, or οἱ ὑπ' αὐτόν. Again, if, as I assume, Σωτέλ[ης] and 'Αθηναί[ος] stood alone, giving to ll. 1, 2 seven and eight letters respectively, it is strange that l. 3 should be made to accommodate a phrase of at least fifteen to nineteen letters, while, on the other hand, 'Αρτέμιδι Σωτείραι (sixteen letters, of which four are ι) should take two lines. But we must not demand of an amateur that balance and aesthetic sense which we should expect in professional work.

Soteles is a fairly common name and occurs over a wide area. It is omitted, curiously enough, from Bechtel's list of names ending in -τέλης (*Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen*, 422) and only one example, IG v (2), 35. 29 (Tegea), is cited among those beginning with Σω- (*op. cit.* 414). I have found it in the Peloponnese, in central and northern Greece, among the islands (Samothece, Euboea, Tenos, Thera, Crete) and at Tauromenium in Sicily. Several Athenians were so named—(a) a member of the Erechtheid tribe (IG i², 929. 98), who fell in battle in 459 or 458 B.C., (b) one of the workers on the Erechtheum in 408-6 B.C. (i², 374. 319), (c) a citizen killed on active service towards the close of the fifth century (i², 964. 37, re-edited *Hesperia*, vii. 86, l. 6), (d, e) two men named in lists dating from the middle of the fourth century (IG ii², 2382. 11, 2398. 8), (f) an ἐπιστάτης προέδρων of the middle of the third century (ii², 794. 5), (g) a member of the Leontid tribe about the same time (ii², 2434. 24), (h) an Athenian of unknown tribe in the second century (ii², 2450. 4), and (i) Σωτέλης Βακχύλου 'Εστιάθενης, who was ephebos c. 110 A.D. (ii², 2020. 76), prytanis in 138-9 (ii, 1765. 46, with Kirchner's note), kosmetes in 150-1 (ii², 2065. 7), and father, probably, of an ephebos of this year (ii, 2065. 25) and of three prytaneis of c. 180-1 (*Hesperia*, iv, 48). We cannot identify the Soteles of our inscription with any of these; a, b, c may, I think, be definitely ruled out as too early, h and i as too late.

The dedication is made to three divinities jointly, and is seemingly a thank-offering for preservation from some danger, alluded to in the title Σωτήρ, Σωτήρα, given to Zeus and Artemis. The appearance of Poseidon side by side with these two, together with the erection of the inscription on an island in the Persian Gulf (unless, indeed, it has been brought there subsequently from some other place), suggests that the deliverance had been from some peril of the sea, perhaps from actual shipwreck.

Zeus occupies the first place as being the supreme god and ultimate disposer of human fortunes, and in particular because he is the god alike of the bright and of the dark sky,² whose favour must be sought by the traveller.³ Throughout the Greek world he is worshipped as Σωτήρ,⁴

¹ Cf. IG v (1), 116. 18 ἐστρατεύμενος δις κατὰ Περσῶν, 817. 4 στρατευσάμενος κατὰ Περσῶν, 818 [ἀποβιώ]σας ἐν Σαμ[οσάτοις] στρατεύμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας, 819 στρατεύσά[μενος] (cf. 44. 5), v (2), 293 οἱ στρατευσάμενοι, ix² (1), 139 στρατευσάμενον, OGI 327 [οἱ] μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ Προυσίαν, 554 οἱ στρατευσάμενοι κατὰ πόλεμον ἐν τῷ ναυτικῷ. Dedications by στραπῶται are common, e.g. IG ii², 1954. 1958.

² For the former aspect see vol. I, for the latter vols. II, III, of A. B. Cook's monumental study *Zeus* (Cambridge, 1914-40); for Zeus and the storm see especially II, 1 ff., 267. 591, 704 f., 840, 848. Cf. L. R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, I, 47, 149.

³ Cook, II, 987; III, 1177; Farnell, I, 149.

⁴ Farnell, I, 60, 164 ff., Hofer in Roscher's *Lexicon*, IV, 1262-71, C. F. H. Bruchmann, *Epitheta deorum quae apud poetas Graecos leguntur*, p. 140.

and we find cults of Ζεύς Σωτήρ attested for Athens and Piraeus.⁵ Poseidon, as ruler of the sea, follows; he is constantly and closely associated with Zeus,⁶ and is, indeed, regarded by A. B. Cook as originally a by-form of Zeus. He also is occasionally worshipped as Σωτήρ,⁷ but this does not appear to have been widespread despite Herodotus' account of the attribution to Poseidon of the title in recognition of his service to the national cause at the time of Xerxes' invasion of Greece,⁸ and there is nothing surprising in its omission from Soteles' dedication. In the third place we have Artemis Σώτειρα, whose cult has left traces in many places, including Athens.⁹ Among her many and varied functions was the protection of navigation,¹⁰ and this naturally brought her into close association both with Zeus and with Poseidon.¹¹

It is disappointing that Soteles fails to give any indication of the date or the occasion of his dedication. We may assume that the soldiers were mercenaries, but since Athenian mercenaries (and I have remarked above that we have no assurance that any of this body save their leader hailed from Athens) are found serving in the East before 320 B.C., with Demetrius at Ipsus, and in the armies of the Ptolemies,¹² while Greek mercenaries are a constantly recurring feature in ancient history,¹³ we are left to determine the date of the inscription, if we can, on other grounds, mainly the character of the script. This criterion is, however, difficult to apply in the case of a text engraved by an amateur, where personal taste or caprice counts for so much, and I can only say that the writing gives me the impression of belonging to the latter part of the fourth, or the opening years of the third, century. Any more precise dating of the inscription and of the incident which it recalls seems to me impossible. We may, if we will, associate it with Alexander's eastern campaigns, but we must also bear in mind the colonising activities of the Seleucid monarchs on the shores of the inner Persian Gulf¹⁴ and the fact that Greek mercenaries served in large numbers under the Persian kings,¹⁵ so that it is at least possible that Soteles fought not for a Hellenic but for a 'barbarian' master. On the whole, however, I am inclined to connect the episode here commemorated with the famous expedition of Alexander's admiral Nearchus in 325 to 323 from the lower waters of the Indus to the head of the Persian Gulf and thence up the Eulaeus (Pastigris) and the Euphrates,¹⁶ nor is it perhaps irrelevant to remember that Alexander gave thanks for the safety of the fleet by a sacrifice to Zeus Soter and Poseidon among other deities and that Nearchus himself shortly afterwards celebrated his escape from a perilous situation by offering to Zeus Soter.¹⁷ If, as Miss

Stark thinks, the island on which the inscription was found is the ancient Icarus, there is an added explanation of the association of Artemis with Zeus and Poseidon in Soteles' votive; for Arrian tells us (*Anabasis*, vii. 20. 3, 4) that this island was reported to Alexander as being thickly wooded and containing a sanctuary of Artemis, and as affording a home to wild goats and deer, which might not be hunted save for the purpose of sacrifice to the goddess, while Strabo also speaks (xvi. 3. 2) of a sacred shrine of Apollo and an oracle of Artemis Tauropolos as lying on the island.¹⁸

MARCUS N. TOD

False Doors on Tombs.—Among all the tantalising questions relating to Lycian pillar tombs, the one that has never been touched is that concerning the top openings which are usually called doors. Yet an enquiry into their meaning may, I think, prove a crucial test. These apertures measure in width 0.20 m. (Isinda Tomb), 0.30 m. (Lion Tomb), 0.41 m. (Harpy Tomb), and 0.45 m. (Trysa Tomb).¹ They give access to a sort of cavity the floor-level of which, however, is a good deal below the bottom of the opening, and from within they must have looked rather like windows.² All these openings are high (4-6 m.) above the ground and were filled with stone slabs. No coffin could have passed through them, for their size is exceedingly small. Yet they are called doors. What was their real purpose? Were they for offerings, or for cremation urns, or for sacrifices? Is this tower-like tomb to be compared with Persian cremation towers, or with primitive granaries, or is it a survival of some legendary burial in trees?³

Of the many sarcophagi found in Lycia, there are some that have gable-windows.⁴ They have, besides, a door to the hyposorion and a door to the soros. There is no room for a burial-place just underneath the gabled roof and, as with the 'doors' of the pillar tombs, anything passed through this window would probably have dropped to the floor inside and gone to pieces. Now, all these sarcophagi with gable windows stand on huge substructures formed of monoliths. And the pillar tombs always consisted of enormous monoliths. The cutting, transporting, and setting up of such monoliths was not an easy thing, and was done only when strong religious tradition required it. It recalls the circumstances in which megaliths had been erected earlier in Europe.

It is well to recall these megaliths. In northern Europe there are quite a number of megaliths with small gable-openings which could never have been used for burials.⁵ A good many megaliths in Spain and Portugal show a

Ποσειδῶνι τε καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι θαλάσσιοι θεοί, καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐποίησε γυμνικὸν τε καὶ μορσικόν, 36. 9 ἐνταῦθα θύει Νέαρχος Διὶ Σωτῆρι καὶ ἀγῶνα ποιεῖ γυμνικόν: cf. Alexander's sacrifice to Poseidon for the success of the fleet, Arrian, *Anabasis*, vi. 19. 5.

¹⁸ For Icarus see Weissbach in Pauly-Wissowa, IX, 980, who remarks that 'von der heutigen Insel, der sie entspricht, fehlen genauere Beschreibungen noch.'

¹ Pryce, *B. M. Cat. Sculp.* i, 118 (Lion T.), 127 (Harpy T.); E. Akurgal, *Griech. Rel. aus Lykien*, 52 ff. (Isinda T.), 98 f. (Trysa T.). On another pillar tomb at Xanthos the opening is a mere hole (Benndorf, *Oe. Jh.* iii, 98 ff., fig. 26; *T.A.M.* i, p. 141). All the other pillar tombs are either too badly damaged or not well enough examined to allow of any measurements being quoted.

² Benndorf, *l.c.*, shows that it had been the Lycian custom to hollow out the cavity within the top of the monolith, while leaving the edges all round at their original height so as to serve as a basis for the relief-slabs surrounding this chamber. On the Isinda Tomb (Akurgal, *l.c.* pl. 10) the aperture is just underneath the flat capstone, in the uppermost part of the relief-slab, thus 0.45 m. above the top of the monolith, and adding the depth of the cavity, about double this height above the floor of the interior chamber.

³ For Persian influence: Benndorf, *Reisen* i, 108 f.; Collignon, *Sculpt. Gr.* i. 260; Picard, *Manuel* i 421 f., 552 f.—For granary interment: Oelmann, *Arch. Anz.* 45, 240 ff.; Grenier, *REA* 1932, 42.

⁴ *Reisen* i, pl. 20. ii, pl. 13b; *T.A.M.* i, 20. 65. 90.

⁵ Montelius, *Orient und Europa* i, 143; Ebert, *Reall.* ix, 43 ff., pls. 57-72; xiv, 290.

⁵ Farnell, I, 164 f.; Höfer, pp. 1265 f., 1269; *IG* ii², 4603.

⁶ Cook, II, 582 ff., 786 ff., 850, 959; Farnell, I, 47, 149 f.

⁷ Höfer, p. 1260; O. Gruppe, *Griech. Mythologie*, p. 1158.

⁸ vii, 192, Ποσειδῶνι σωτῆρι εὐχαίμενοι καὶ σπονδὰς προχέοντες. . . Ποσειδῶνος σωτῆρος ἐπωνυμίην ἀπὸ τούτου ἐτι καὶ ἐς τὸδε νομίζοντες.

⁹ Höfer, pp. 1237 ff.; Farnell, II, 471, 585 f.; Bruchmann, p. 50; Gruppe, p. 1268; Wernicke in Pauly-Wissowa, II, 1399; *IG* ii², 4631, 4695; *OGI* 18.

¹⁰ U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Der Glaube der Hellenen*, I, 183; Wernicke, pp. 1349 f.

¹¹ With Zeus, Wernicke, p. 1369; with Poseidon, Wernicke, p. 1368 f., Gruppe, p. 1147 note 4, p. 1168 note 7, p. 1292 note 3.

¹² G. T. Griffith, *The Mercenaries of the Hellenistic World* (Cambridge, 1935), pp. 43, 52, 55, 239, 242; for the provenance of the mercenaries, 236 ff.

¹³ See H. W. Parke, *Greek Mercenary Soldiers* (Oxford, 1933) and Griffith, *op. cit.*

¹⁴ W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 66; for the traffic in these waters see *op. cit.*, p. 367.

¹⁵ See Parke, *op. cit.*, ch. xi, xviii.

¹⁶ For Nearchus, his expedition and his writings see W. Cappel in Pauly-Wissowa, XVI, 2132 ff. H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich*, II, 269 ff. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt in J. Papastavru, *Amphipolis*, p. 97 ff., F. Jacoby, *FGHst.* II, 677 ff.

¹⁷ Arrian, *Indica*, 36. 3 'Ἀλέξανδρος σωτῆρια τοῦ στρατοῦ εἶθι Διὶ Σωτῆρι καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀλεξικάκῳ καὶ

system of double apertures, an exceedingly small door, which I should call a pseudo-door, and a top opening. A recent publication of these expresses the opinion that this aperture in the roof must be accepted as an original feature, and in fact that the later interments were introduced through it, and not through the door. This has prompted Prof. Gordon Childe to the remark, 'May it not explain the interments in some British tombs too, where for instance the space between the portal stones is too narrow for an undertaker to creep through?'⁶ The same custom can be traced in Sardinia, Sicily, Malta. And in the Aegean there are several examples (Crete, Syros, Thera, Attica) where the front opening definitely was a pseudo-door from the very beginning, and only the top aperture was used for the burials.⁷ There are a great number of megaliths in Spain, France, and Great Britain, which show a false entrance to the tomb (a forecourt, portals, or a dromos), and a door to the burial chamber narrowed and made impassable, the orthostats thus forming a pseudo-door of varying shape (round, oval, rectangular, or triangular).⁸

When studying blocked entrances (dromos, façade) and small triangular openings of megaliths, one cannot fail to be reminded of the Mycenaean beehive-tombs, and to wonder whether the famous relieving triangles merely had that architectural function which has been pointed out by Prof. Wace. For even he could not help remarking: 'Probably the Mycenaean engineers, although they had discovered the principle of the relieving triangle, had not quite grasped all that it involved,' and 'It is remarkable that the Mycenaeans, once they had discovered the principle of the relieving triangle, continued to use such enormous lintel-blocks.'⁹ To tell the truth, these lintel-blocks became even more enormous, though the width of the doorway never changed appreciably (it remained about 2 m. from the earliest to the latest tholos). Considering that the amount of the dome supported by the lintel would in any case only be equal to the cubic content of the relieving triangle, the architectural function of these triangles on such gigantic lintel-blocks must have been very small indeed. It is well to remember that the lintels were regularly set at the level of the natural grade of the hillside, bringing nearly half of the structure above ground.¹⁰ Thus while dromos and doorway were blocked and buried, the triangles (4-6 m. above the floor-level of the chamber) were obviously the only openings which could have been visible from the outside (filled though they were with smaller stones or relief-slabs). This tends to show that their original design does not seem to have been the invention of an individual architect, but rather a feature which was adapted to its particular architectural functions.¹¹ It must have had some tradition of its own, and only gradually became a structural device as time went on and walls increased in height and thickness.

The tomb has always been considered as a house for the dead. Openings above doors and gable-windows have frequently been compared with the gables and windows

above the doorway of the so-called Nordic type of house, as it is to be found all through the ages in northern Europe. A remarkable example of such a house in early archaic times has been found in Greece at the Argive Heraion.¹² The architectural function of its square gable-window has been adequately stressed. But what seems to have been overlooked is its religious function. Until fairly recently, Swedish and Russian peasant huts in remote districts had a smallish gable-window: it was usually kept shut, but whenever anybody died it was opened immediately and left open for a certain number of days (3, 7, 9), and the peasants explained it was for letting the spirit go in and out unhindered.¹³ The Russians called it the *otdušnik*. Similar customs have been observed in Austria, Switzerland, Bavaria, and mediaeval France.¹⁴ In some cases shingles were removed from the roof.¹⁵ This tradition goes back to very primitive times; it is found in the earliest legends and sometimes also connected with graves, especially mounds and barrows.¹⁶ In this connexion I would relate a discussion I had one evening years ago on the ancient Mt. Euboia above the Heraion of Argos, when some Greek shepherds tried to persuade me that the tholos called the Aigisthos Tomb was really the tomb of the wicked Aigisthos. For it was the only tholos to have no opening for the spirit (they meant the relieving triangle) and was thus obviously intended to keep a wicked spirit like Aigisthos imprisoned.

I feel sure that these age-old customs and beliefs are in some way connected with the pseudo-doors and gable-openings on tombs, as well as with the small apertures in megaliths, buried in the ground, to which we have given such inadequate names.¹⁷ The latter problem has frequently been complicated by attributing to it some special symbolism which is quite unfounded. But recently it has been shown that 'the porthole is really merely a device for narrowing or demarcating the entrance to a tomb or for segmenting it; it is, as such, only one of the many devices adopted by the builders of prehistoric chamber-tombs to achieve these purposes.'¹⁸ The same applies to the kennel-hole. However, one cannot help asking, does this explain their real purpose? Why were entrances narrowed and made impassable, and why were there any such openings left at all? If an entrance was to be hidden and blocked, why was it not done thoroughly? Why were megaliths at the time of their building left without proper doors, but supplied with two orthostats standing close together and showing a small, artificial, impassable opening? As Childe has said, 'the explanation must involve the internal environment, the social tradition of the group.'¹⁹ Only in the traditions of these early tribes and peoples can we hope to find the explanation. And a religious tradition it must be since it concerned their graves.

Such openings of minute dimensions (and usually blocked with small stones or slabs) occur with every sort of interment all over Europe in the 3rd, 2nd, and 1st millennia B.C. They can be found in the kurgans of the Kuban valley in southern

¹² A.M. 1923, pl. 6, 1; *Antike*, iv, 198, fig. 30.

¹³ *Oldenburger Jahrb.* 31, 250 ff.; Ebert, *Reall.* xii, 2 f.

⁶ *Antiquity* xvii, 55, reviewing A. do Paço's article in *Anais*, 1941. Cf. Leisner, in *Marburger Studien*, i, 147 ff.

⁷ *A.J.A.* 1930, 390 f.; 1931, 479; 1934, 268 ff.; *A. S. Atene*, 1934, 160. For collected evidence cf. J. Wiesner, *Grab und Jenseits*, 52 ff. (H. Kosmas, Syros, Messara), 80 (Psychro). Top openings also occur in vaulted tombs of Cyprus (Gjerstad, *Studies*, 68).

⁸ Ebert, *Reall.* viii, 77 f.; x, 350 ff.; *Proc. Preh. Soc.* 1939, 125, 129, figs. 3, 8, pl. xv; 1940, 133 ff., 163, fig. 7, pls. xi-xvi.

⁹ *BSA* xxv, 346. For the architectural function: *BSA* xxv, 14 f., 283 ff.

¹⁰ *BSA* xxv, 289, 294 (Wace), 397 (Holland).

¹¹ Similarly a rock-hewn chamber-tomb at Kalyvia near Sparta has a triangular opening above the entrance cut into the rock. 'This feature, familiar from built tholoi, is here superfluous owing to the toughness of the rock, but it enabled the original despoilers of the tomb to force an entrance' Woodward in *JHS* 47, 257. Thus, in antiquity, only this opening can have been visible from the outside.—Picard (*Manuel*, i, 336 n. 5) suggests that the entrance to the temple of Prinias shows a reminiscence of this 'relieving triangle.'

¹⁴ In Bachtold and Staubli, *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, ii, 1329 ff., iii, 477 ff., viii, 1189 f., there is a very rich collection of evidence from all over Europe. Altogether, the custom of opening the windows of the house when death occurs is so widespread in Europe, particularly among the peasant population, that almost everybody has heard of it.

¹⁵ *id.* ii, 1333; for mediaeval France, add *Folk-lore Record*, i, 102 (about removing the roof from a sick man's hut, that the soul might more easily fly away). Spirits are notoriously wont to pass through windows and roof-openings (chimney, smoke-hole).

¹⁶ M. Hunnius, *Baltische Hauser*, 1926, 30; H. R. Ellis, *Road to Hel*, 1943, 46, 103, 166; C. Clemen, *Allgem. Relig.*, 1934, 92; cf. the Ynglinga Saga in *Heimskringla* i, 22 f. 'at the death of Frey, a great howe was built with a door and three windows.'

¹⁷ Neither the English 'porthole' and 'kennel-hole' nor the German 'Seelenloch' seem to have the necessary dignity.

¹⁸ *Proc. Preh. Soc.* 1940, 162 ff. (Clifford and Daniel).

¹⁹ *Proc. Preh. Soc.* 1935, 14.

Russia (which are not collective burials) in the walls dividing the burial chamber from the ante-room where offerings were deposited.²⁰ They form little pseudo-doors in the tombs of the western Mediterranean basin (Spain, Balearics, Southern France, Sardinia, Malta) as well as in Crete, Cyprus, the Cyclades, and Palestine.²¹ They survive in the cremation urns of the Lausitz culture and of the Hallstatt period.²² They are to be found with the Etruscan urns and cistae. They even seem to occur in Minoan larnakes and sarcophagi.²³ The Lycian rock tombs show a similar feature (doors narrowed by means of stone slabs, thus leaving a small impassable aperture). These pseudo-doors can be traced everywhere, but their origin remains obscure. It must thus be assumed that they are very deeply rooted in human religion in general.

The pseudo-doors of the Near East show a particularly interesting development. There are hundreds of megalithic tombs in Palestine with very small rectangular openings, blocked by stone slabs some of which could be moved aside, as the horizontal grooves seem to indicate.²⁴ The measurements of these pseudo-doors are about 0.40-0.45 m., that is almost exactly the same as of the pseudo-doors in the chamber-tombs of H. Kosmas and in the kurgans of Transcaucasia, and also of the gable-windows of Lycian sarcophagi and of the 'doors' of Lycian pillar tombs. In their later stages, these pseudo-doors in Palestine assume a fairly square shape; some round ones also occur. These later tombs are built on a much smaller scale, but their pseudo-doors betray remarkable workmanship: they are of the same size as before, but fully finished in appearance as little doors, sometimes with a sham lintel in relief. These real pseudo-doors form the beginning of a tradition which seems to continue in Asia Minor throughout the first millennium B.C. and even into the Roman period of the first centuries A.D. They can be traced on rock tombs, on sarcophagi, and on mausolea. Sham doors and false windows are extremely frequent, even on grave stelae. But they also occur as blocked openings, i.e., pseudo-doors, of the usual size. A look into the successive volumes of M.A.M.A. will provide an astonishingly rich variety of examples.²⁵

The increasing wealth of the population of Asia Minor under Roman rule was favourable to a revival of ancient local traditions, which led to their survival on grander and more enduring monuments. Thus there exist several pillar-tombs of Roman times, one of them fully explored and published. The Roman pillar tomb at Beshindelayah²⁶ (A.D. 134) shows the well-known Lycian shape. It is a monolith (7 m. high), its burial chambers are underground, and at the top instead of the cavity and small 'door,' there are two rectangular niches (with figures in relief of the two people buried there, each standing on a high pedestal). This monument seems to have retained all the essential features of the Lycian pillar tomb. As for the burial chamber underneath, the Lycian pillar tombs have sometimes been described as possessing such, and some have actually been found standing on these rock-hewn burial places.²⁷ But the more famous pillar-tombs of Xanthos have never been thoroughly explored: Sir Charles Fellows, a hundred years ago, merely scratched the surface when looking for pieces of

sculpture which he thought might have dropped there from the top of the capstones. Thus, in the absence of explored underground burial chambers, the cavity in the top of the monolith with the 'door' has often been thought to represent the sepulchral chamber. However, two interesting observations seem to prove just the contrary. Firstly, the 'door' of the Harpy Tomb, with its cow and suckling calf above the lintel, stands about 4 ft. above the floor of its interior chamber.²⁸ The obvious inference is that it cannot have served any practical purpose, but must be regarded as a pseudo-door. Secondly, I would also point out the striking similarity between Lycian sarcophagi with gable-windows and the fragmentary gable-ends of Lycian tombs in the British Museum which actually have small false doors in their centre, with two sphinxes on either side.²⁹ There is every reason to believe that these false doors and windows in the gables of Lycian sarcophagi had the same purpose as the openings in the top of Lycian pillar-tombs, and that this function must be of a different nature from what has been taken for granted until now. Once their real meaning has been established, a big step forward can be made in the study of these monuments.

The widespread tradition of pseudo-doors on tombs, which I have tried to illustrate from earlier times, may, I think, help in establishing the nature of these Lycian 'doors.' They were intended neither for offerings nor for the buried person's body, but for his spirit. Their survival in the shape of a niche on the Roman pillar-tomb confirms this and seems to be conclusive. It is of course obvious that more exploration is needed in order to link up all the connexions. Particularly in Lycia no excavations have been made so far. But the existing evidence seems to point in one direction only.

This tradition of pseudo-doors traced in so many different countries and through so many ages, suggests that there was more unity of religious thought in the Eurasian world during past ages than has hitherto been realised.³⁰ And this is confirmed by the equally widespread custom of opening a certain window underneath the roof whenever anybody dies in a house. Just as in a house, so in a tomb the spirit must not be imprisoned but must be given an exit. Popular belief always assigned to the soul a life after death, and the spirit of the deceased was supposed to hover about the tomb for quite a time. The pseudo-door built into the tomb was not merely an exit for the spirit. It was also a window enabling him to return to this last resting place of his body. Spirits of ancient kings and heroes were frequently invoked at their tombs and would appear in answer to these invocations. The blocking of these pseudo-doors does not, of course, contradict this belief. In many stories and legends spirits or ghosts are supposed to pass through closed doors or windows, but never through stone walls. The pseudo-doors thus acted as closed doors, yet for the spirit as doors all the same. To take a too rationalistic view in this matter would be a mistake. For at the bottom of this tradition is simply the age-old belief, deeply rooted in mankind, in a community of the living and the dead, one of the fundamental and primeval ideas of the human mind.

F. J. TRITSCH

The University, Birmingham.

²⁰ F. Hančar, *Urgeschichte Kaukasiens*, 1937, 243 ff., pl. 35-39; *E.S.A.* ix.

²¹ Wiesner, *Grab und Jenseits*, 52 f., 60, 80-3, 109, 123, 180, 194.

²² Ebert, *Reall.* vii, 251 ff., xi, 276, xii, 2 f.; v. Duhn, *Ital. Graberkunde* i, 357.

²³ Wiesner, *l.c.*, 60, 82, 194. These holes either occur in the bottom or in the lid, never in both.

²⁴ v. Duhn in *Arch. Rel. Wiss.* xix, 441 ff.; P. Thomsen in Ebert, *Reall.* viii, 108, 112, 115; *Rev. Bibl.* 1910, 549 ff. Most of these Palestine megaliths have big openings from the top (by means of slabs easily removed). The older ones have only cup-holed stones, no doors.

²⁵ Mendel, *Cat. Mus. Ottom.* i, 149, 348 ff.; *M.A.M.A.* iv, pl. 15-16. The type varied according to local tradition.

²⁶ Ch. de Vogue, *Syrie Centrale, Architecture*, 116, pl. 92.

²⁷ Xanthos: Benndorf in *Oe. Jh.* iii, 98 ff., fig. 26; *T.A.M.* i, p. 14. At Saret: Spratt, *Travels* i, 66; Benndorf, *Reisen* i, 109.

²⁸ Pryce, *B. M. Cat. Sculp.* i, 123. The height of the interior chamber is given as 7 ft. 6 in., while the relief-slabs are only 3 ft. 3 in. (or 1.02 m.) high, yet Fellows says the capstone rested on the relief-slabs. As the capstone was probably not hollowed out, Fellows would have mentioned it and, in any case, that could only account for 5-6 in., the floor of the chamber must have been about 4 ft. underneath the bottom of the relief-slabs and the door.

²⁹ Pryce, *l.c.*, 132-4, figs. 180-2, pls. 26-7. For sarcophagi see note 4.

³⁰ It would be out of place here to give a chronology of tombs with pseudo-doors, or to trace their general development. For similar reasons I cannot discuss here the Egyptian false doors, nor the ghost-holes on Indian megaliths. What I wish to show is the widespread tradition of pseudo-doors in Europe and Hither Asia throughout the ages.

Rostovtzeff's Twofold History of the Hellenistic World.—A feature of the new *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* by M. Rostovtzeff should not escape attention for its implications in a matter of historical method. This work—a *κτῆμα ἐς αἰεὶ*—contains, in fact, not one story, but two stories. What is called *Summary and Epilogue* (pp. 1026–1312) is in method and problems something completely different from the bulk of the study (ch. III–VII). Rostovtzeff, who is a historian of splendid intuition rather than of close reasoning, has obviously not perceived this fact. He has not clearly delimited the two subjects, thereby adding a difficulty to his critic, who runs the risk of being over-schematic.

Ch. III–VII are a gigantic inquiry into the consequences of the Roman supremacy over the Hellenistic world. To what extent and with what consequences the Hellenistic world was affected by the Romans—that is the problem. The answer is given in a minute analysis of the Hellenistic States before the Roman intervention and in a series of chapters which scan the several phases of Roman rule. The limits of the picture exactly correspond to the nature of the inquiry, and are therefore a virtue of the work. The consequences of Roman victory are emphasised (or minimised, as in the case of Egypt), not the reasons for it, whether *ex parte Hellenistica* or *ex parte Romana*. The forces working in each State are presupposed and occasionally indicated, but not systematically analysed: no explanation is offered of the very fact that the Hellenistic world did not oppose any proportionate resistance to Roman conquest. The reader passes from ch. IV, in which the Hellenistic States are substantially prosperous and independent, to ch. V, where they are independent no longer and, on the whole, much less prosperous. The common features of the Hellenistic civilisation are not examined as much as would be necessary for other purposes. In fact, the description of each State is practically independent of that of the other States.

The problem of the consequences of Roman intervention in the Hellenistic world has, indeed, been present to every former historian of the Greek or Roman world, at least since W. von Humboldt thought, but, as usual, not more than thought, of writing a history of the Decline and Fall of the Greek World to match Gibbon.¹ As might be expected, the theory that the Romans destroyed a still vital Greek world has repeatedly clashed with the opposite view that the Romans killed a dead world or even wanted, but were unable, to save what was already disintegrating. What Mommsen wrote on the subject need not be recalled, but two typical utterances, which it would be a pity to translate, can best represent the two tendencies. Burckhardt said: 'Aber die griechische Nation konnte Rom, das sie ohne Zweifel im deutlichsten Bewusstsein ihrer nunmehrigen geistigen Unentbehrlichkeit gerne gerettet hatte, nicht vor sich selber retten.'² And Beloch, not less lapidary, answered: 'Mit dem Augenblick, wo ein griechisches Land unter römische Herrschaft kommt, geht es mit seiner geistigen Produktivität zu Ende.'³ Between these two extremes the golden mean was, for instance, formulated by W. W. Tarn: 'The Hellenistic world had already fallen a victim to itself before it fell a victim to Rome.'⁴ Yet, up to now, no sufficient evidence had been produced to countenance any theory. For the first time Rostovtzeff's book gives an answer systematically supported by facts. Of course, he is concerned only with one or two aspects of the problem; he does not consider either political and military power or cultural and religious developments. His inquiry is in terms of economic prosperity and social harmony, but within these limits he is simply majestic. Few questions of ancient history have been answered with a greater mass of evidence or with greater common sense.

The *Summary and Epilogue* is an attempt to define what Hellenism was from an economic and social point of view.

¹ Cf. *Sechs ungedruckte Aufsätze über das klassische Altertum*, 1896 (= Werke III, p. 171).

² *Griechische Kulturgeschichte*, IV³, p. 573.

³ *Apud Gercke-Norden, Einleitung* III, 2 ed. 1914, p. 140. Cf. F. Munzer, *Die politische Vernichtung des Griechentums*, 1925 ('Erbe d. Alten,' IX).

⁴ *CAH* VII, 700.

The problem was proposed more than a century ago (1833) by J. G. Droysen, then twenty-five years old.⁵ Between the ruin of Classical Greece and the rise of Christianity there is a period of extreme dissolution and shapeless creation characterised by the mixture of Greek and Oriental elements. In Droysen's definition, that is Hellenism. His conception was for long made use of by philosophers and historians of religion (to whom, indeed, he owed much from the start), rather than by researchers in political history. In the second edition of his *History of Hellenism* (1877) Droysen himself paid only lip-service to his former self. He was then the historian of Prussia, interested in the formation of national States rather than in a cosmopolis. Furthermore, he never considered the relations between his Hellenism and Roman civilisation, with the consequence that the increasing interest in the Roman Empire fostered by Mommsen became detrimental to the study of Hellenism. Yet J. Kaerst faced discredit at an unpropitious moment by trying to keep loyal to Droysen's programme, as he understood it. And another great scholar, W. W. Tarn, has slowly returned to Droysen's ideal, although, curiously enough, he seems not to have troubled himself very much about Droysen's thought. For his deep insight into the aims which guided Alexander and his successors, Tarn is now, no doubt, the heir of Droysen in the field of political history, just as Reitzenstein, Cumont and Nock may be said to have worked on religion in Droysen's sense. The resurrection of the Romantic idea of a history embracing the whole of Man is obviously favourable to Droysen, whose conception has found a new popularity in recent years.

With the present *Epilogue* Rostovtzeff joins the select company of Droysen's followers. More than that, he is up to the present the only one who has coped with the problem over the whole period from Alexander to Augustus, of which Droysen dreamt in his romantic youth. Here again, though the problem may not be new, the extent of Rostovtzeff's inquiry is unique.

Difference in the sources available naturally corresponds to the difference of the problem. Much evidence which had not been utilised by Rostovtzeff in the bulk of his work had to be considered in the so-called *Epilogue*. Above all, the former materials presented themselves in a different light. The relations between Greeks and Orientals dominate the *Epilogue*. East replaces Rome in the foreground. The private life and mental pattern of the Hellenistic man become more important than the taxes he paid. Egypt, which in the static description received the lion's share, makes way (perhaps not enough) for Asia, when measured in terms of creative forces.⁶

There is an element in Rostovtzeff's *Epilogue* which may seem to unify his two stories: the position of the *bourgeoisie*. It is certainly a pity that he has not developed the point. Readers of the Roman volume know that Rostovtzeff, a frank, but not over-confident believer in 'bourgeois' virtues, is always at his best with this argument. But a further study of the position of the *bourgeoisie* in the Hellenistic world, I suggest, would add new elements to the two stories, without unifying them. No doubt, the *bourgeoisie* on the whole supported the Roman regime, as it had done a great deal to support Hellenistic kings. On the other hand the hellenisation of the East gave rise to a large *bourgeoisie*. Yet the more dynamic features of the Hellenistic civilisation cannot be understood under what is usually called the '*esprit bourgeois*.' The conquerors of the East were adventurers and pioneers; the main philosophical and religious currents are to a great extent a reaction against the self-satisfied spirit of a 'bourgeois' existence; and, of course, Oriental influences were felt especially through the

⁵ For the history of the idea of Hellenism cf. my essay 'Genesi storica e funzione attuale del concetto di Ellenismo,' *Giornale Critico della Filosofia italiana*, XVI, 1935, 10–37. On Droysen also my article 'Per il centenario dell' Alessandro Magno di J. G. Droysen,' *Leonardo*, Dec. 1933. Cf. the objections, which I cannot accept, by F. Hampl, *Gnomon*, 1937, 474.

⁶ Cf. the remark of A. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, I², p. 7. 'Intrinsically the Seleucid Monarchy and not the Ptolemaic Monarchy is the field in which the pearl of great price awaits the historical explorer.'

lower classes. Rash as it would be to conclude that political Romanisation was chiefly a product of the *bourgeoisie*, and Orientalisation a reaction of the lower classes, it is obvious that the Hellenistic civilisation cannot be identified with a 'bourgeois' civilisation. The *bourgeoisie* played two different, although interrelated, rôles in the Roman conquest and in the preparation of Christianity.⁷

Both stories have been long needed and come at a timely moment. They reflect a dualism which it would be erroneous to suppress. If one looks at Greece as a political organisation, Rome is the next step: Hellenism is just a transition between Greece and Rome. If one looks to Greece for a faith, the next phase is Christianity, and Hellenism is the period in which, by its contacts with the East, the Classical world prepares for Christianity. Overschematising again, if one wants to explain the Roman Empire, one has to follow the first approach; if one wants to understand the Church, the second direction is best. The attempt to include Rome in the Hellenistic world, which was forcibly presented by W. Otto in his *Kulturgeschichte des Altertums*, is obviously wrong.⁸ The principles of Roman organization, as shown by the development of Roman citizenship,⁹ are new and foreign to the Hellenistic monarchies. The distinction between Rome and Hellenism must remain.

Of course the two aspects complete each other. The spiritual organisation of the Church could not be understood without the political organisation of the Empire, and, after a while, the Empire came to presuppose the Church. It is significant that, while Droysen looked for the mediation between Greece and Christianity in his new concept of Hellenism, G. F. Hegel chose Rome for the same purpose. To him Roman Law was intermediary between the liberty of the Greek and the liberty of the Christian. It is, however, a commonplace that, after Classical Greece and, perhaps, Early Rome, politics and religion were never again united except in Islam. They have remained in a state of implicit reciprocal tension—ideally and historically distinct, although interdependent. Because we now strive to unify the two forces, we are in the position of understanding both the reasons of the separation in the past and the presuppositions for a deeper synthesis in the future.

Therefore, Rostovtzeff's dualism in the new work is a sign of the times. With his usual sound instinct, he realised that he could not weld together the two stories of Roman conquest and Hellenistic achievement. I do not regret that he did not pose the problem to himself with sufficient clarity to give greater relief both to the contrasts and to the connexions between the two sections of his work. People who are able to do this secondary work are many. But Rostovtzeff is almost alone in his creative power. His double history of Hellenism is substantially sound, because it grasps the fact that the strong side of Hellenism was the capacity of the individual to create new forms of Greek life in foreign environment, while political oppression, either coming from the kings or imposed by the Romans, was the seed of ruin.

The last, with G. De Sanctis, of the monumental writers of the older generation of ancient historians, Rostovtzeff is also one of those in whose liberal love of life a generation better than ours will recognise themselves without shame.¹⁰

ARNALDO MOMIGLIANO

Walbank's Philip V of Macedon.—Three or four years after the publication of Mr. Walbank's book it would be idle to join in the chorus of praise which the most eminent authorities on the history of the Hellenistic Age

have unanimously and deservedly showered upon it.¹ But the time has come to show how far the author has succeeded in combining pioneer-work in a new province with the results which a former generation of scholars had already been able to achieve. Nothing, indeed, can better testify to the vitality, timeliness, and many-sidedness of the present book than its author's efforts to put to the test, in his most recent writings, the conclusions which he had already reached, to enlarge and revise, if need be, some points he had not previously dwelt upon with all the desirable minuteness, and to sound again the principles on which this volume rests. Hence one might justifiably describe it as a Janus-like portrait of Philip V. On one side it connects with and reflects the labours of Mr. Walbank's predecessors, chiefly the late Maurice Holleaux. But its other face looks to a basically different treatment of the history of the late third and early second centuries B.C.—more in agreement with the intellectual requirements and the tenets of a new school of historical writing. In this way, if I may venture to use these words, Mr. Walbank's book partakes of the past and the future; and it is, I submit, a merit, and perhaps its strongest attraction, that it should stimulate the reader to recollect the experiences of its forerunners, and to work out new solutions for old problems.²

Mr. Walbank's greatest indebtedness is, inevitably, to Holleaux and De Sanctis. The obligation is gratefully and generously acknowledged on almost every page of his book. In my opinion, however, the most satisfactory way of repaying one's intellectual indebtedness lies not merely in quoting from and depending on the authors one has chosen as guides, but in trying to free oneself from submission to the *communis opinio*, and in proceeding beyond it, until one is able to arrive at new conclusions, and thereby to supply a landmark in the 'continual process of integration' wherein, according to Mr. Walbank himself (p. xi), the science of history consists.

Mr. Walbank has brilliantly and convincingly overcome De Sanctis's standpoint, but he is himself conscious—and somehow proudly conscious (e.g., p. 128; *C.Q.* XXXVI, 1942, p. 142)—of treading Holleaux's path still. Indeed, his 'orthodoxy' (despite occasional remarks, as for instance on pp. 65 and 264–5), his rigorous and courageous acceptance of the theory often leads him to the extreme of being 'plus Holleauxiste que M. Holleaux.'³

Both in the present book and in his biography of Aratus, Mr. Walbank has proved that no national scheme, or principle of Greek national unity—in the form this word is generally taken to mean—underlay either the policy and life-work of Philip V, or the political theory and practice of his Achaean counsellor.⁴ He therefore dismisses any

¹ Cf. e.g., W. W. Tarn, *JRS* 1941, XXXI, pp. 172–3; A. H. McDonald, *C.R.* 1942, LVI, pp. 123–5; J. A. O. Larsen, *Class. Phil.* 1943, XXXVIII, pp. 56–8. As to Dr. A. Momigliano's review in the *Oxford Magazine* of 12th February, 1942, cf. Walbank, *C.Q.* 1942, p. 134, n. 1.

² Prof. De Sanctis has himself given an extremely vigorous presentation of his theory in his summary outline of the history of ancient Greece in *Encicl. Ital.* XVII, cols. 823 ff. Both his theory and his criticisms of Holleaux are accepted by Prof. J. V. A. Fine in his chapter on the Antigonids, in *The Greek Political Experience*, 1941, especially pp. 137, 141. For a general survey of the two theories, cf. L. Zancan, *Atti Ist. Ven.* t. XCV, p. II, 1935–6, pp. 541 ff. For an acute but unduly aggressive criticism of Holleaux (cf. *REA*, 1935, p. 137; E. Bickermann, *Rev. Phil.* LXII, 1936, p. 288) see W. Kolbe, *Die Kriegsschuldfrage* v. 218 (Heidelberg, Sitz.-ber., 1934, 4. Abh.), pp. 25 ff. A masterly presentation of Holleaux's theory, though with some essential modifications, in Rostovtzeff's *History*, I, pp. 47 ff., 55 ff.; II, pp. 1311–12; III, pp. 1318–19. A different approach was suggested by F. Altheim, *Epochen d. röm. Gesch.* 1935, II, pp. 91, 95 ff.

³ The quotation is from Prof. M. Cary's *Hist. Greek World*, 1932, p. 406; cf. Walbank, p. 12, n. 4; Larsen, *loc. cit.*, pp. 57–8.

⁴ Mr. Walbank (p. 79) rightly rejects the story of the poisoning of Aratus as one of the usual inventions of war propaganda. Yet the story has a 'symbolic' value as a reflection of the contradictions and incompatibilities

⁷ Cf. now the important remarks by F. W. Walbank in *Class. Rev.* LVI, 1942, 81–4.

⁸ 1925, p. 104. Cf. Tarn's note in *Hellenistic Civilisation*, 2 ed., p. 2.

⁹ A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship*, 1939 (cf. *Journ. Rom. Studies*, 1941, p. 158).

¹⁰ Cf. my essay on Rostovtzeff in *La Nuova Italia*, IV, 1933, 160–5.

suggestion that a moral obligation should have bound the Greeks to Philip and Philip to the Greeks (be the term applied in its wider or narrower connotation, to refer to the peoples of the peninsula or merely to the members of Doson's renewed League of Corinth). And he acquits the Achaeans of any charge of treasonable behaviour (*cf.* p. 158) for letting the king face Rome alone, and eventually joining her against him.

Nothing in Mr. Walbank's book helps to recall De Sanctis's famous description and appraisal of Philip as 'the last of the Greeks,'⁵ that is, as the last man in ancient Greece to aspire consciously after national unity, to strive for a nation-wide effort of the Greek States to free themselves from the menace of Rome by joining in the League of Corinth and by submitting to the hegemony of the King of Macedon, as in 481 B.C. the cities had joined in a common will and formed a league to repel the invasion of Xerxes by submitting to the hegemony of Sparta. Much as the Romans were often abused as ἀλλόφρονοι—and Polybius, pro-Roman though he was, recorded the indignation of several at least of the Greeks at the Aetolians' unholy alliance with the barbarians of the West against the newly hellenised Antigonids from the North—none of the contemporaries of Aratus and Philip was, however, prepared to identify the alignment of the fifth century with the alignment of the third and second—that is, to identify 'medising' and 'romanising'.⁶

The story of the Roman conquest of Greece, if it bears many a resemblance to the story of the conquest of Philip II, bears no resemblance at all to the resistance to Darius and Xerxes, or the story of any European nation fighting in the course of the last century to be both united and free. Hence, despite the historical experience of the events of the nineteenth century and the spell, influence, and legacy of the school of historical science that grew up after it, unity and liberty are terms to be unhesitatingly kept apart and differentiated whenever one deals with the history of Graeco-Macedonian relations; for, if liberty is indeed the subject and touchstone of Greek history, unity merely found its way into modern historical writing on ancient Greece by a process of mistaken and misleading analogy.

But, if there was, and accordingly there is for the student of that age, no problem of the unity of Greece and Macedon against Rome it would be faulty reasoning to infer that there was no Roman problem either, that Rome's interference, which was both unobtrusive and violent, with Greek affairs simply resulted from a chance coincidence. An unhappy series of misapprehensions and errors would never have led to the goal which Rome's most enlightened and far-seeing statesmen had set for themselves—viz., the primacy, and eventually the actual suzerainty, of the Republic over Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean.

Mr. Walbank's acceptance of Holleaux's theory *in toto* compels him to reject his guide's treatment of the years 229–217 B.C., which, significantly enough, runs counter to his main contention, and to disclaim any interest, on the part of Rome, in Graeco-Macedonian affairs, or correspondingly any interest on the part of Philip V in Roman

between Macedon and the League, autocracy and republican federalism, monarchical demagogy and oligarchic conservatism, to which the Achaean statesman fell a victim. See the excellent comments of Ferrabino, *Arato*, 1921, p. 240.

⁵ Strangely enough, Mr. Walbank has, so far as I can see, neither quoted De Sanctis's formula (*St. d. Rom.* IV, 1, p. 255; *Propylaen-Weltgesch.* 1931, II, p. 305; *Encicl. Ital.*, XV, p. 315) nor commented upon it. I gave it as a title to a short notice of Mr. Walbank's book in the *Contemporary Review* for March 1941, pp. 357–8; and lest I should be accused of self-contradiction for agreeing with Mr. Walbank in rejecting it, may I add that in the review I stressed the impossibility for Philip V, as King of Macedon and heir to the victor of Chaeronea, of ever becoming the embodiment of Greek national resistance against the Roman invasion.

⁶ Thereby I do not mean to say, of course, that there was no revival of reminiscences of the Persian Wars (which, incidentally, Mr. Walbank has so ably dwelt upon in *C.Q.* 1942, pp. 141–2; 1943, pp. 2, 9–10). What I mean is that the issue at stake was felt to be different, and that the reaction was accordingly different.

and Western affairs, till the peace of Naupactus (pp. 12, 28, 64 ff.). He therefore denies any evidential value to such facts as the amity entered into by Demetrius II with Epirus, Illyria, and, through the marriage of Nereis to Gelon, with King Hiero II of Syracuse: or the agreement between Antigonos Doson and Demetrius of Pharos, or the welcome extended to the latter by Philip V and the Macedonian commissioner in Corinth after his raid on the Aegean islands under the protection of Rhodes in 220,⁷ and again after the Romans drove him out of his country in 219.

Surely Mr. Walbank is agreed in taking at its face value and in regarding as a genuine indication of Greek public feelings in 217 B.C. the famous speech which Polybius puts into the mouth of the Aetolian Agelaus (p. 66, n. 5), though it clashes with the distorted picture which the Achaean historian has drawn in his exceedingly biased account of the Social War, unfortunately accepted as on the whole satisfactory by most modern scholars, and by Mr. Walbank as well. Nevertheless he cannot refrain from branding as a 'great error' (p. 272) Philip's 'adoption of a Western policy,' as if Greece might have kept off or been spared the aftermath of the Second Punic War, as if Agelaus's speech were not in itself evidence enough for the certainty, even of peace-loving Greeks such as the Aetolian statesman, that the struggle in the West—whatever its outcome—was due sooner or later to involve and engulf their countries too. Aside from any other authority, Agelaus's speech would suffice adequately to refute Holleaux's, and still more Mr. Walbank's, theory. But there is more to be said against it. For the new or newly re-interpreted evidence which has happily added to our still scanty knowledge of the mutual relations between Rome and the Hellenistic States from the age of Pyrrhus to the age of Scipio the Elder points decidedly to its refutation.

Whatever the Romans may have felt or known about Greece, the Greeks—both in the peninsula and in the Mediterranean basin—knew a great deal about them. At any rate they knew enough to recognise Rome as an equal, as a Power to reckon with, though they possibly did not as yet conceive of an eventual struggle with her. I refrain from expatiating upon Lycophron's *Alexandra*, chiefly because Mr. Walbank is still inclined to date it to the years of Flamininus's proclamation of independence.⁸

⁷ That Demetrius's raid was chiefly directed against Rhodes, or the islands under Rhodian control, is shown by Pol. IV, 19, 8. As far as one can speak of a hold by a naval Power (*cf.* E. Bickerman, *REA* 1938, XL, pp. 380, 382 f.), and aside from the few islands which were under Macedonian sovereignty, the Rhodians were at the time supreme in the Aegean: Holleaux saw it long ago (*BCH* 1907, XXXI, pp. 107 ff.). But what of the relations between Macedon and Rhodes? On the rather tenuous evidence of Pol. V, 89, 6–7 (gifts to Rhodes after the earthquake of ca. 227 B.C.), Mr. Walbank (*C.Q.* 1942, p. 137; *cf.* *JHS* 1942, LXII, p. 8) suggests that Doson's 'policy towards Rhodes was friendly.' In any case, his Carian expedition, which Mr. Walbank rightly dates to 227 (p. 12, n. 5; *JHS* 1942, pp. 8–9, 12–13; *cf.* Fine, *AJP* 1940, p. 165, n. 164), suffices to prove that Rhodes did not, or did not want to, challenge Macedon's brief return to sea-power policy. The relations were also friendly during the War of the Allies, as the references collected by Holleaux, p. 110, n. 2, abundantly show. But it is significant that in 220, while Demetrius was raiding the Aegean, the Byzantines, at war with Rhodes and the king of Bithynia, supported the restoration to his father's throne of the exiled Bithynian prince Zipites, who had found sanctuary in Macedon, and whose attempted return—he died on the way—was evidently approved of, or permitted, by Philip V (*cf.* Pol. IV, 50, 8–9; 51, 7). The simultaneousness of the two episodes is probably no chance coincidence, and seems to confirm (*pace* Walbank, pp. 28, n. 7; 30, n. 3) Holleaux's contention that Philip had instigated the expedition of Demetrius. It proves, if anything, Philip's interest in sea-power, even before Rome's intervention came to remind him of its relevance for the future of Macedon.

⁸ *Philip*, p. 351; *C.Q.* 1942, p. 145, n. 3; 1943, pp. 8, 10; in spite of the case for the traditional date forcibly made out

But a contemporary of Lycophron's, as the fortunate discovery of the *Διγνήσεις* has shown, though perhaps primarily led by his erudite curiosity to inquire into the customs of Roman society and the privileges of the *matronae*, stressed the military virtues of the Romans, who had successfully withstood many an onslaught, and held their soldierly valour in such honour as to judge worthy to be put into the mouth of the mother of a 'symbolical' Gaius a *bon mot* which had been applied to or circulated *à propos* of Alexander the Great.⁹

Nor is it surprising that Callimachus (though more probably the Callimachus of the age of Ptolemy II than the *Callimachus senex* of the early years of Ptolemy III) should be interested in Rome, when one remembers that, half a century before the end of the Pyrrhic War, the Senate, rightly alarmed at the prospect of Alexander's western *anabasis*, had despatched an embassy to Babylon, as Clitarchus did not fail to record in the historical work which he wrote under the reign of Ptolemy I. At the same time the historians of the Successors related the achievements of Rome—whether it was in connexion with the story of Pyrrhus or his forbear Alexander the Molossian, or by way of digression within the framework of a wider account, we no longer have the means of deciding.¹⁰

Furthermore, it must never be forgotten that, since the beginning of their relations with the Greek States, the Romans showed themselves perfectly adequate to their task. It is admittedly difficult to reconstruct the modes and purposes of Roman war propaganda, for it is doubtful how far we can go back from the present narrative of Polybius

and the minor authorities dependent on him to the original narrative of Fabius Pictor and his fellow-senators. Yet, as Gelzer and Bickermann have ably proved, their political theory and their political practice reveal the Romans as fully conversant from the very start with the niceties of Hellenistic public law, and perfectly capable of wielding the weapon of propaganda. Their wars were neither waged nor won by sheer force of arms alone. Before being equipped for victory, the Roman leaders must therefore have undergone the necessary training. This intellectual preparedness, to which they were even supposed to owe the commencement and development of their political historiography,¹¹ though it was neither so thorough as their military preparedness nor, on the other hand, so inefficient—nay, almost non-existent, as Holleaux maintained—must necessarily have required not only very remarkable qualities of patience and mental adaptability, but, above all, time and willingness and determination. Hence a long period elapsed of what might humorously be termed 'Greek incubation' which alone enabled the Romans successfully to pursue their policy of intervention. It may be vain for us to try to rediscover it unless some unsuspected evidence comes to light, but we are fully justified in postulating it as a latent yet indispensable prerequisite, a force which eventually was brought to bear.

Any student of this period must therefore face and discharge a twofold task. First, he must devise a new method of source-criticism. The researches which have so far been undertaken into the credibility and historicity of Polybius and, above all, the minor and less trustworthy authorities appear to be no longer satisfactory, for we have now come to realise their insufficiency. Since we now know more of contemporary party catchwords, and of the idioms, both political and legal, of the Hellenistic *κοινή* than did former scholars, we feel that the non-Polybian tradition may supply not only the testimony of the *altera pars*, but much that is highly valuable if not for *our* reconstruction of the history of Greece at that time, at least for a more accurate survey of the political ideologies under the sign of which battle was joined on the double battlefield of international rivalries and of class warfare within each city and each State.

Secondly, the social question must be approached from a different angle. Mr. Walbank has satisfactorily stressed its impact upon the relations between Philip and the League on the one side, and between the Romans and Greece on the other (cf. e.g., pp. 23, 164 ff., 273; *C.Q.* 1943, pp. 7, 12–13). But here, too, I am afraid he has neglected to recall the links connecting the social policy of Philip V with the social policy of his predecessors on the throne of Macedon. The King's support of the poor, his encouragement of the revolution, and his compact with Nabis—whatever the motives by which he was actuated—must, in my view, be quoted as evidence for Philip V's deep insight into the gigantic struggle which was brewing in the turmoil following upon Rome's intervention, and by which he was evidently determined to profit, eventually by making more popular with an appeal to all the dissatisfied forces his own policy of revenge. Mr. Walbank rather inclines to brand these activities as proof of 'miscalculation' and 'short-sightedness' (pp. 164, 272), since by erroneously trusting Nabis and then letting himself be outmanoeuvred by him, Philip made the breach with the Symmachi unhealable, and ushered in the total reversal of Dozon's policy.

But, if support of the agrarian *bourgeoisie* had been the more usual policy of Philip V's forbears from Cassander or rather from his namesake Philip II to Antigonos III, support of democracy was in keeping with the social policy of Demetrius the Besieger, and to some extent with the social policy which Alexander the Great intended to pursue

by A. Momigliano, *JRS* 1942, XXXII, pp. 57 ff.: cf. F. Altheim, *Epochen*, I, p. 212 (in a vigorously drawn sketch of the relations between Rome and the Hellenistic states at the end of the Pyrrhic War). My main objection to Momigliano's dating is that the evidence so far produced seems to me insufficient to prove that 'rule over land and sea' is merely a formula, a flattering compliment (*id.*, pp. 54 ff.; Walbank, *C.Q.* 1942, pp. 135–6).

⁹ Whatever the chronology of the *Actia*, whether we believe that the original (as maintained by G. Coppola, *Circe e il nuovo Callimaco*, 1935, pp. 120–1, 174 ff.) or an enlarged edition of it, including as its final poem the *Lock of Berenice* (cf., besides the authorities collected by Altheim, *Epochen*, II, p. 125, n. 12, his further remarks in *Welt als Gesch.*, II, 1936, pp. 77–8, and P. Maas, *Pap. Milano* 1937, I, p. 171) was published ca. 245. I cannot help feeling that the Court of Alexandria was no doubt far more awake to and interested in the achievements of Rome ca. 270 than some twenty-five years later, when Ptolemy III was engaged on the Third Syrian War and Rome was passing through the hardest years of the First Punic War.

As to the *bon mot* (*Dieg.* col. V, 26 ff., in *Pap. Milano*, I, p. 97), I suggest that Callimachus (or, though less probably, the author on whom he drew) applied to the mother of the Roman 'Gaius' a saying (Plut., *De A.M. fort. aut virt.*, I, 9, 331 b) which he found in the biographical tradition on Alexander the Great (so rightly M. Pohlenz, *Phil.* 1935, XC, pp. 120–1; G. Pasquali, *Studi ital. fil. cl.* 1939, N.S., XVI, pp. 74–5, but it may be doubtful whether the similar Spartan story had already been circulated in the latter half of the fourth century). Incidentally, the primary sources of Plutarch's treatise (with the exception of the probably wrong quotation from 'Phylarchus', II, 11, 342 d; and cf. I, 3, 327 e) are, generally speaking, prior to the middle of the third century. On the purpose of Callimachus's *acton*, see G. De Sanctis, *Riv. Fil.* 1935, N.S., XIII, pp. 299–300, followed by Pasquali, *loc. cit.*, p. 74. For the 'symbolical' Gaius, cf. Altheim, *Epochen*, II, p. 143.

¹⁰ Cf. Pasquali, *Studi ital.* 1939, pp. 72 ff.; Momigliano, *JRS* 1942, pp. 60 ff., who should not have denied (p. 62, n. 32) the historicity of the Roman embassy to Alexander the Great, unless we are prepared to admire even more Clitarchus's far-sightedness in inventing the episode out of sheer interest (towards the close of the fourth century B.C.) in Roman affairs. On the other hand, any attempt at a compromise solution (cf. e.g., E. Kornemann, *Die Alexander-gesch. d. Kön. Ptol.*, 1935, p. 93, n. 173) should be unhesitatingly rejected, and the tradition accepted or dismissed *in toto*.

¹¹ It is, as is well known, an obviously exaggerated theory of M. Gelzer (*Hermes* 1934, LXIX, pp. 46–55) that Roman historiography 'was born pragmatic and Greek at the end of the second Punic war' (so A. Momigliano, *JRS* 1943, XXXIII, p. 102; and cf. J. Vogt, *Gnomon* 1936, XII, pp. 525–6). But the very fact that such a theory was conceived, and by such an authority as Prof. Gelzer, affords, I maintain, the best possible example of 'Greek incubation.' On Gelzer's theory, cf. Mr. Walbank's remarks in his forthcoming article on Philinus (*C.Q.* 1944).

towards the end of his life. And the history of Macedon from Alexander to the day of Pydna seems to suggest that the kings who were most keen on stressing the monarch's personal autocracy were also most keen on favouring the working class and the industrial *bourgeoisie* bent on Mediterranean expansion—traders, merchants, seamen, artisans, etc.—against the propertied, agrarian oligarchy. There was, of course, no 'rigid and invariable rule' (p. 165, n. 5) on the part of Macedon, nor, for that matter, on the part of Rome. Still, as it was the democratic party of Demosthenes and his followers, whatever their shortcomings and the imperialistic trend of their conception of democracy, that carried on the struggle against Philip II, and they carried it alone, so it was the poor, and the almost dispossessed small *bourgeoisie*, already on the verge of foundering into the great mass of the proletariat, that carried on the struggle of Greece against Rome. In neither case did the economically ruling class resist foreign domination, though by the victory of either Macedon or Rome, in so far as it favoured expansion overseas, they lost as much as, or rather more than, their opponents. If they seem to have fared better, it is only because Polybius's apology for Peloponnesian vested interests has often impressed its mark on so many.

Readers of Mr. Walbank's book are therefore justified who regret the absence of a wider economic background and a more minute investigation of literary authorities. A province of political literature has been especially neglected. There developed at the time of the Roman conquest a curious form of prophetic pamphleteerism, an extraordinary example of which is offered by Phlegon of Tralles. In his extremely full bibliography (p. 358) Mr. Walbank does mention Holleaux's pertinent comments upon the passage of Phlegon (*Rev. Phil.*, 1930), nor does he omit a reference to it in his list of 'prose authors' (p. 351). But he fails to take it into account both in his narrative of the events of 188 B.C. and in his later remarks on the use of Κοίρανος in the political literature of the Hellenistic Age (*C.Q.* 1942, p. 142, n. 9).¹²

Another extremely interesting form of contemporary pamphleteerism consists of speeches and other propaganda material such as fictitious pedigrees. Many examples of it are offered by the speeches in Polybius, which Mr. Walbank rightly regards 'as essentially based on a genuine record' (p. 88, n. 1: cf. p. 280). If it be so, they deserve fuller and more detailed treatment than they receive in this book (e.g., pp. 66, n. 5; 88, n. 1: 99, where a mere reference to Thrasycrates of Rhodes certainly does not do justice to the exceedingly significant discourse which Polybius puts into his mouth), especially the speeches of Chlaeneas and Lyciscus, which offer perhaps the best factual reconstruction of the history of the relations between Macedon and the Greek States from the age of Philip II to the age of Philip V, of course as they seemed to the latter's enemies and supporters. And since I have chanced to touch upon the resurrection, during the reign of Philip V, of the political ideologies of the Demosthenic period, may I say that in *Tac. Ann.* XII, 62 (a passage which—intentionally, I believe—Mr. Walbank has not listed among his authorities) the reference (*qua tempestate bellavimus adversus regem Macedonum, cui ut degeneri Pseudophilippi vocabulum impositum*) is probably to Philip V as unworthy of comparison with his great namesake, not, as is usually surmised, to Andronicus.

¹² For bibl. on political pamphleteerism, see M. Gelzer, *Hermes* 1933, LXVIII, p. 131, n. 4 (whose chronology—'aus den Jahren des Antiochoskrieges'—is probably unsound). M. Holleaux (*Rev. Phil.* 1930, LVI, p. 305, n. 2) was, I submit, far too sceptical in his comments on A. J. Reinach's theory (*BCH* 1910, XXXIV, pp. 281–2) that it is Perseus who is meant by the allusion to the Κοίρανος Ἡπειρώτης (Phlegon, *FGrH* 257, frg. 36, 7, line 8), a reference in any case suggesting a date prior to the battle of Pydna and the massacre of the Epirotes. On the relevance of the problem cf. E. Bickermann, *Gnomon* 1931, VII, p. 278.

Two small points may be dwelt upon briefly. Mr. Walbank agrees with Prof. J. V. A. Fine's criticism (*JPh* 1940, LXI, p. 135, n. 25) of the contention (*Athen.* 1934, pp. 409–11), chiefly based on Ditt. *Syll.*³ 501, that it was with the connivance of Antigonos Doson, who sought thereby to foster rivalry and eventually to engineer a conflict between the Achaeans League and the King of Sparta, that in 229.8 B.C.—at any rate prior to the outbreak of the Cleomenean War in the summer of 228—Tegea passed from a state of sympathy with the Aetolian Confederacy to the sovereignty of Cleomenes. I can only plead that none of the arguments produced against my view is cogent. Admittedly the date of the inscription, and of Tegea's change of allegiance, is conjectural; but, unless we dismiss any surmise on the facile ground that 'the granting of *isopoliteia*, etc., to an unknown Thessalian need not be such a significant matter,' should the inscription be given an earlier or later date, the relevance of it would only be enhanced. For we should then have evidence of honours being conferred upon a subject (*ex hypothesi*) of Demetrius II or Antigonos Doson by a community which was in friendly relations with the Aetolians at a time when the latter were engaged in a bitter struggle against Demetrius II, or within the realm of Cleomenes while he was waging war against Doson's enemies, the Achaeans League. And any chronological inference from Pol. II, 46, 2 and 5 is baseless, since this chapter is nothing but a clever piece of anti-Aetolian propaganda, the factional character of which no one has more ably detected than Fine himself (*id.* pp. 134 ff.).

Mr. Walbank, following a suggestion of Dow and Edson, maintains (p. 11, n. 4), here, too, in agreement with Fine (*id.* p. 142), 'that Doson was *strategos* (and not king) for three years, this fact being the source of the error in Eusebius, who states that Doson reigned twelve years.' I fear that, even if it be true (cf. Tarn, *Greeks in Bactria*, 1938, p. 185) that Doson was legally appointed regent before being legally appointed king, there is no valid reason for explaining Eusebius's error in this way. For in the only case we know of a Macedonian king legally acting as regent before taking the crown himself—viz., in the case of Philip II—Eusebius's figure is quite correct, and combines Philip's years of regency and Philip's years of kingship. Why, then, unless one indulges in hazardous and unwarranted guess-work, should Eusebius's source have acted otherwise in the case of Doson? If an explanation is really to be sought for—and nothing is more difficult and unsatisfactory than to try to correct wrong figures—I would rather recall the similar blunder of Justin (XXVIII, 4, 16: XXIX, 1, 2), who states that on Doson's death Philip was fourteen instead of seventeen. Of course, such a statement 'may be ignored' (so Walbank, p. 295, n. 6), for Corradi's attempt to support it (*Riv. Fil.* 1909, XXXVII, pp. 378–9) was refuted long ago by Dr. Tarn (*C.Q.* 1924, p. 18); but I venture to conjecture that it arose out of a similar miscalculation as Eusebius's—namely, Philip V was made by the chronographers (though the mistake was avoided by Porphyry) three years younger than he was, and to fill a gap in chronology three years were erroneously added to the reign of his predecessor. I readily admit that this assumption is far from being decisive. The possibility of an alternative explanation suffices, however, to prove that Mr. Walbank's argument is not cogent either.

But there is something else I feel I must say; and this is that in his writings later than and following upon his present book Mr. Walbank, in spite of his reaffirmed attachment to the theory of Holleaux (cf. *C.Q.* 1942, p. 142), has moved precisely on the lines tentatively drawn above. Hence he seems to be nearer than he is himself aware to Fustel's grand and solitary achievement. In the 'continual process of integration' typical of historical science, it is to the half-forgotten French scholar that we ought to go back, though with new intellectual maturity and sensibility, and look at him as the guiding star that we must follow in our attempts to re-write the history of the Roman conquest of Greece.

P. TREVES

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Time and Chance: the Story of Arthur Evans and his Forebears. By JOAN EVANS. Pp. xi + 410; pl. 16. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1943. 21s.

In a biography two things may be sought: record of achievement and appreciation of character: what a man was, and, being what he was, how he came to do what he did. The bare achievements of Sir John and of his son, Sir Arthur Evans, would alone fill a book, but *Time and Chance* contains much more than this. Dr. Evans devotes her pages to accounts of three men: her grandfather, Arthur Benoni Evans, 1781-1854, clergyman and school-master; her father, Sir John Evans, 1823-1908, antiquary and paper-maker; and her half-brother, Sir Arthur Evans, 1851-1941, whose discoveries in Minoan Crete, so happily published in the volumes of *The Palace of Knossos*, five years before his death, have sometimes tended to overshadow his earlier adventures and doings. To him rather more than half the book is allotted. With the lives of these three is skilfully interwoven an account of the very different Dickinson family, from which Arthur Benoni and Sir John both took their wives. For good and for bad, the Dickinsons were typically English; the Evanses were of Welsh stock. Sir John presented a remarkable blend; in Sir Arthur was a strong recurrence of the qualities of his grandfather, Arthur Benoni, 'literary in taste, adventurous in character.' The contrast between the son's paradoxical nature—'unusualness was of the essence of his being'—and the steady consistency of the father is most interesting. Strong family affection brought out of what might have been a clash of temperaments a mutual understanding that is one of the most touching things in the book. No one outside the family could possibly have written *Time and Chance*. For Arthur Benoni, Dr. Evans arouses our natural interest in a very out-of-the-way man; for her father she has a well-justified filial admiration; for her brother a sympathetic insight into his character and ways of thought. Many questions are here answered. In men of genius there must always be something of the mysterious: Dr. Evans throws much light when she writes of 'his unconscious sense of the pre-eminent importance of the workings of his own mind.' Such a man must have something ruthless about him: for example, Evans allowed nothing to get in the way of his complete control of the work at Knossos. The author says of him very well that 'a genius is a man whose mind works in so unusual a fashion that his truth to that vital working must be the only criterion of his life.'

The few words allotted to a review can give only a very slight idea of the width of the activities of the Evans family. To her father the author very rightly gives a place among those whose discoveries widened our whole view of the history and position of man. Sir Arthur we see first as the romantic and enterprising traveller, and we are given a wonderful account of an exploration on foot, which brought him out finally into Romania; then he appears as the vindicator of the liberty of the Slavs of Dalmatia, where he paid for his efforts by a several weeks' imprisonment in the castle of Ragusa, the city of his love, from which he was to be banished for so many years. Then we have his achievements at Oxford, where, in spite of opposition, he created the Ashmolean as we now have it: Fortnum had already learned 'how curious was Oxford's attitude to anything not relating to money or books.' But Evans was always a fighter. In two chapters we hear of the great discovery of Minoan Crete and a new civilisation. No doubt discretion has been necessary in these accounts of Sir Arthur's struggles, but we are nowhere tantalised by hints, and indeed there is very little veiling in the capital extracts from Freeman's letters. But the reviewer must admit that he would have liked to learn more of the resolute battle fought to acquire full rights over the site of Knossos. It is safe to say that if Evans' unnamed rivals had won, we should know very much less than we do of the Minoan world.

It has been a strong temptation to quote more of Dr. Evans' remarks on her brother's character, but I have thought better to refrain. After all, no review can attempt to reproduce the contents of a book, especially of a book which might so well have been longer.

The book is admirably produced. The endpapers bear pedigrees of the Evans and Dickinson families, clearly set down with ample dates. Misprints I cannot find, except that on p. 135 'topological' should surely be 'typological.' The portraits are good: often beautiful, though none can really give the full charm of Arthur Evans' expression, especially when he was telling some story which amused him. But the most skilful biographer cannot snatch everything from oblivion. The graces and intimacies of converse 'are cast on the running waters of speech, and of all sounds laughter leaves the most fleeting echoes.' These words, written by Dr. Evans of her father, may be applied equally to her brother; yet this book does contain a very great deal of the three Evans', set before a social background beginning in the eighteenth and lasting well on into the so very different twentieth century.

R. M. D.

Excavations at Asea in Arcadia 1936-1938. Preliminary Report (Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift, XLV, 1939, 3). By E. J. HOLMBERG. Pp. 30; pl. 15 + 8 text figs and 1 plan. Göteborg, 1939.

During the summers of 1936 to 1938 the long-recognised site of Asea in southern Arcadia was excavated; it yielded very important prehistoric material as well as late Classical or Hellenistic remains. Recognising the importance of the earlier group of finds in particular, Holmberg hastened to publish this preliminary report, and thus to fill, at least partially, a large gap in our knowledge of Peloponnesian prehistory.

The prehistoric remains belong to the Neolithic and the Early Helladic periods and to the early part of the Middle Helladic period. For the earliest period there were no architectural remains, but some floor-levels could be distinguished. However, the levels just above rock contained a large quantity of neolithic pottery. There was no physical indication of any division within the neolithic stratum; pottery which has been assigned to both the early and late neolithic subdivisions at other sites was here found mingled. The pure neolithic stratum was, however, only one-quarter to one-half metre thick.

The neolithic pottery from Asea resembles most, but not completely, that from Corinth, thus indicating a very considerable uniformity of material remains over a large part of the Peloponnesos, a uniformity which is shown to be of even greater extent by similar ceramic remains from Malthi in Messenia.

Holmberg presents his neolithic pottery in the following divisions: A. Burnished Wares, including (1) Fine red ware, of both 'Red Slipped' and 'Red Monochrome' varieties, (2) Variegated ware, identical with that found at Corinth, (3) Fine black ware or 'Black Monochrome', (4) Fine grey ware, the 'Grey Monochrome' of Corinth, and (5) Coarse burnished ware, which comprises more than half of all the neolithic pottery from Asea. Though this ware is very similar to that designated as Class D, earlier style, at Corinth, Holmberg points out very rightly that at Asea the ware belongs to the later part of the Neolithic period as well, and the many late shapes in this ware which occur here, but not at Corinth, substantiate this contention.

The second main classification is B. Glazed or Neolithic Urfinis Ware, with the subdivisions (1) Plain Ware, which is identical with the Neolithic Urfinis pottery from numerous other sites, and which occurs here in large quantities and in better state of preservation than almost anywhere else, and (2) Inside incised ware, really a variety of coarse Neolithic Urfinis ware, so called from the furrowing of the inside of bowls with deep grooves, carelessly made with no special effort at ornamental effect.

In a third group, C. Patterned Ware, is included all of

the decorated neolithic pottery. The subdivisions are (1) Burnished patterned ware, very similar to Thessalian A3a and A3β ware and Chaeronea ware, and (2) Glazed patterned ware, the patterned variety of Neolithic Urfirnis pottery. The site is particularly noteworthy for the quantity and variety of the glazed patterned ware and for the well-preserved shapes in this ware (Pls. VI-IX). Lastly there is D. Coarse Ware, similar to the pottery of class A5, but lacking a slip. Incised and plastic decoration is used on this coarse ware.

There was considerable mixture of neolithic and Early Helladic wares above the pure neolithic stratum, and then pure Early Helladic levels began. Some of the pottery from the mixed levels indicate a blending of the ceramic techniques of the two periods. Early Helladic pottery of types AI, AII, and BII occur already in the earliest Early Helladic levels, indicating an arrival of the culture here somewhat later than in the north-eastern Peloponnesos. While the transition from the Neolithic period to the Early Helladic seems to be gradual, the appearance of the Middle Helladic remains is preceded by a conflagration in the Early Helladic buildings. These buildings were rectangular houses, usually with two rooms. In the late, but still pure, Early Helladic strata, there occurred some sherds of a coarse incised ware known in quantity at Malthi and probably derived from West Greece.

The architectural remains of the Middle Helladic period are more extensive and better preserved than those of the Early Helladic period. The structures were built at first immediately on the ash layer that covered the Early Helladic buildings. They are all houses, the earliest of which are rectangular, rather long and narrow, and divided into from two to four rooms. The later houses, sometimes overlying the older ones of the same period, are also long and narrow, have two or three rooms, but two of them have quarter-circle ends.

In the earliest Middle Helladic strata occur Grey Minyan, Black or Argive Minyan and incised Coarse ware; the Grey Minyan is much sparser than the other two groups. Matt-painted and other painted wares occur somewhat later, and still later the Yellow Minyan appears—all of the pottery is made without the wheel. Except for the coarse incised ware, all of the Middle Helladic pottery resembles Argive Helladic ware: the incised ware, like its Early Helladic predecessor, is derived from West Greece.

At the middle phase of the Middle Helladic period the prehistoric site was abandoned, the houses destroyed by fire or earthquake. The next settlement on the site is of Hellenistic or Late Classical date. There was a temple at the highest point, and houses spread over the whole plateau and down the slopes into the valley below. The whole city was surrounded by a complex of fortifications. In this report only one well-preserved Hellenistic house is described in detail.

Although the results of these excavations are presented in this report in only a very brief and preliminary form, they already occupy an important place in our knowledge of Peloponnesian prehistory. The clear, concise presentation and the good illustrations add much to the usefulness of the report; its great importance is dependent on the nature of the finds. The final account of this material will be eagerly awaited by prehistorians with full confidence that it will be made in the careful and competent manner of the excavator and with the urgency dictated by his knowledge of the importance of the material.

SAUL S. WEINBERG

1. **The Mycenaean Pottery : Analysis and Classification.** Pp. xix + 689, 75 text figs.

2. **The Chronology of Mycenaean Pottery.** Pp. 155, 2 text figs.

By A. FURUMARK. Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 1941.

A general conspectus of L.H. pottery has so far existed only in the notes and brains of the pioneers and a few younger specialists. These two volumes are therefore very welcome. A third 'forthcoming' in 1941, but not yet seen in England, will give a general history of the development and distribution of Mycenaean pottery.

The first volume contains an exhaustive examination,

from the point of view of style and typology, of all L.H. pottery known to the author. This is divided under *Shape and Decoration*: a mere five pages are devoted to *Technique*; and the author admits that he has worked mostly from books. In discussing shapes Furumark's terminology, with its *comcal-piriform*, *angular cylindrical*, etc., is cumbersome, but at least more scientific than the nicknames of dig-cant. He gives us a serially-numbered catalogue of types, quoting examples of each, with references to the publications. Unfortunately this list does not refer to the author's admirable line-illustrations in the body of the book. The analysis of both general and particular trends is excellent; and due attention is paid to the derivation of types from Helladic or Minoan originals, and to the relation of pottery to metalwork. The section on *Decoration* opens with surveys of Minoan and Middle Helladic ornament, both alas! for reasons of economy unillustrated. The distinction (pp. 112-16) between 'tectonic' and 'unity' composition is important, and much sound study looms through the abstract terminology. The development of all motifs is analysed, and lists of examples indicate the pot-types on which each is used. But the lists are excessively difficult of study, since reference to illustrations elsewhere is only *via* the type-catalogue, and the line figures, though excellent, illustrate only the development of separate motifs. One cannot accept all his derivational series, but in general Furumark's conclusions are convincing, and he has well appreciated how Mycenaean motifs interact, flowers marrying with octopods and palms. *Pictorial Designs* justly have a section to themselves, but none are illustrated. The writer distinguishes a 'Levanto-Mycenaean' and a 'Hellado-Mycenaean' style: to the first belong the Cypriot craters with chariot scenes; to the second, a mainland group of figure scenes datable to Mycenaean IIIB-C. The historical significance of these separate styles is partly examined, but the latest excavations in Cyprus should tell us more. A series of drawings planned to illustrate the successive styles of Mycenaean decoration was frustrated by the war, but the author hopes to publish them elsewhere. Let us then have photographs too. As things are not one complete pot is illustrated in the whole book, and what is the use of a book without pictures?

Furumark's Myc. I and II (subdivided into IIA and IIB) correspond to the familiar L.H. I and II. The IIA style is still mostly derived from Crete, but in Myc. IIB, which borrows little from the contemporary L.M. II, conventionalisation and the new 'Ephyraean' composition show a more independent Helladic spirit. The subdivision of Myc. III (= L.H. III) is new, and the first to be based on a full examination of the material. Furumark distinguishes Myc. IIIA, B, and C, of which A and C are again subdivided. Myc. IIIA 1 is a transitional style; in Myc. IIIA 2 a uniform style (the 'Mycenaean *koine*') appears over a wide geographical area indicating good communications and industrialisation, reflected also in fine technique and poverty of invention. In Myc. IIIB the style in the central mainland and the Levant is homogeneous; elsewhere, including Rhodes, there are local variations. May we infer actual Mycenaean colonisation of Rhodes? In IIIC 1 the break-up of the *koine* continues. Several distinct styles appear together, e.g., at Mycenae the Close Style (the 'Palace Style of Agamemnon') the Granary Class, and the Mainland pictorial style. These trends are not geographically defined; both Granary and Close Styles have variants in Rhodes. Furumark refrains from discussing 'Lev.-Myc. IIIC' on account of the 'scantiness of material.' Is it so scanty? The contemporary styles in W. Greece and the 'Mycenaean' sherds from Magna Graecia are local derivatives. (On the importance of this question of local styles see Blegen and Wace in *Klio* xxxii. p. 131.) The IIIC 2 style is our old friend Sub-Mycenaean—transitional to Proto-Geometric.

So far classification is based on style and typology. The second volume gives the external evidence. The sequence of L.H. I, II, III, was first established from Blegen's excavations at Korakou. In the *Brit. Mus. Cat.* Forsdyke subdivided L.H. III into A and B. Then closed finds from Zygouries and the Granary at Mycenae made it possible to redivide IIB as IIIB and IIIC. The gap between L.H. II and the L.H. IIIA finds at Tell el-Amarna suggests

a possible division of IIIA; and within IIIC Broneer's North Slope finds are 'somewhat earlier than the bulk of the pottery from the Granary at Mycenae.' Thus Furumark, in spite of his claim that he 'everywhere had to do pioneer work,' had a good start. This is not to belittle his researches: part of their value lies just in their confirmation and elaboration of a scheme previously resting on incomplete surveys. Very few stratified sites have been excavated: the Lion Gate deposit at Mycenae was once regarded as covering the whole L.H. III period: but Professor Wace would probably now himself agree that it contains little before IIIB. Most of the evidence comes from tombs, and excavations like those of the Chamber Tombs at Mycenae and the Heraion can tell much. But too many cemeteries have been looted by both dealers and 'archaeologists,' and Furumark's strictures on bad digging and worse publication are justified. Much of the evidence is presented in tabular form. The table showing the occurrence of types in each phase would have been even more useful if it referred to the illustrations in the first volume. Other tables indicate the find-groups representative of each period, and the types found in the chief groups. All goes to confirm the sequence established from style and typology.

The chapters on the relative dating of Late Minoan ware are valuable *per se*, but it is not clear that this gives 'independent confirmation' of the Mycenaean dating, since much of it was assumed in the stylistic analysis. The evidence of clay figurines ('dolies') and buttons or whorls is neatly and convincingly handled. Swords and fibulae tell little at present.

Absolute Chronology is a dangerous topic. Myc. I and II can be dated roughly by the Egyptian cross-references in L.M. I and II. L.H. III is generally assumed to begin at the fall of Knossos, put by Evans at 1400 B.C., but Furumark makes his Myc. IIIA 1 begin at 1425, since it corresponds to certain L.M. III finds datable before the catastrophe. Myc. IIIA 1 is however only a transition to IIIA 2, starting at 1400 and including the Amarna finds. Furumark does his best with the cross-datings from Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, but there is a good deal of latitude between *termini*. The start of IIIB is finally placed at 1300. As Myc. IIIB appears never to occur in association with Egyptian objects later than Rameses II, Myc. IIIC may start about 1230, the date of his death. 'Philistine' pottery, derived from Myc. IIIC prototypes, seems to begin soon after 1200, which sorts fairly well. For the dating of the later phases of Myc. IIIC there is no direct evidence. . . . Truly 'absolute' dating is of course impossible: but new evidence may be discovered at any time. The *relative* chronology seems well established by Furumark's work, which in spite of its defects in point of illustration and referencing will have to be consulted by every student of Mycenaean pottery.

The English has been vetted by the Rev. E. D. Deane (*quem honoris causa nomino*), and few errors survive apart from the title of the first volume. Misprints are laudably rare. Furumark has rejected the term 'Late Helladic' because it 'has implications which do not agree with the actual origin and character of the pottery' and because Mycenaean pottery spread to areas not Helladic in their antecedents. 'Mycenaean' on the other hand has similar drawbacks and in England usually denotes only L.H. III. 'Late Helladic' still seems more scientific. Although published in 1941 most of the work was set up by 1938 and takes no account, except in the *addenda*, of C. W. Blegen's *Prosymna*, M. N. Valmin's *Svedish Messenia Expedition*, and W. Kraiker's *Kerameikos I*: but the author finds nothing in these to disturb his conclusions.

F. H. STUBBINGS

Monuments of Graeco-Bactrian Art. State Hermitage. Monuments of Culture and Art in the Collections of the Hermitage, I. By K. V. TREVER. Pp. 178: pl. 50 + 12 text figs. Moscow-Leningrad: Academy of Sciences of U.S.S.R., 1940. (In Russian.)

This important book has lately reached me by the good offices of Prof. A. Salmony of the University of New York. Though it has been fully reviewed by M. I. Rostovtsev in *Amer. J. Arch.* XVI, 2, pp. 295-301, and it is ill gleaned

after Rostovtsev in this, or indeed in any, field, it seems worth while to report on it for English readers.

Miss Trever illustrates and deals with sixty-four objects, all except three in the Hermitage. Apart from two alien fragments, they fall into four groups: vessels and phalerae in gold and silver (Nos. 1-27), coins and gems (28-46), certain embroideries from Noin-ula in Mongolia (48-53), and fragmentary capitals of pilasters found in 1933 at Ayrtaim near Termez (Demetrius) on the Oxus and presented by the Uzbek Republic to the Hermitage (54-61). Of these, a phalera (11), a coin of Eucratides with the epithet ΣΩΤΗΡ (33), the seals (43-5), one piece of Noin-ula stuff (49), three pieces from Ayrtaim (55-7), and a gilt glass bowl from Mozdok, north of the Caucasus (62), are unpublished.

The other pieces will be found in Smirnov's *Argenterie Orientale* (Sm.), Kondakov's *Ant. de la Russie Méridionale*, Miss Trever's own *Excavations in Northern Mongolia* (English), Gardner's *B.M.C.-Bactria and India*, and other coin books, M. E. Masson, *Mat. Uzkomstarva I.* (1933) and *Iskusstvo*, 1935, 2, 129-34, and other rather inaccessible Russian publications, but Miss Trever's plates surpass their forerunners. Two classes Rostovtsev has treated, the phalerae in 'Les Antiquités Sarmates et les Antiquités Indo-Scythes' (Russian, Fr. *rés.*), *Rec. Kondakov*, Prag, 1926, 239-58 (see also Spitsyn in *Bull. Com. Arch.* 29, 18-53), and certain bowls in 'Some New Aspects of Iranian Art,' *Sem. Kondakov*, VI, 1933, 161-86, and has figured several pieces in his *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*.

Some pieces are clearly products of the Mediterranean world, No. 47 a bit of blue-glazed faience, No. 62 the gilt glass, both from Ptolemaic Egypt, and No. 25 the horse protome found near Poltava, an inferior example of the class to which the rhyton found in Bashova Mogila near Duvanli in Bulgaria belongs. Greek work of the fourth or third century B.C. So, too, I think the Medusa phalera from Sukhum (No. 11) and the Nike or Tyche (No. 13) are not perhaps made in Greek lands, but somewhere not far from them.

The rest may have been made farther east, but how far east is the question, whether in Syria or other Seleucid lands, in Parthia, or really in Sogdiana, Bactria or the borders of India. The coins do come from Bactria, but I see no connexion between them and the other objects, either in their style or in the subjects they bear. One or two of the things have been found in Sogdiana, but none in Bactria, archaeologically one of the most unexplored regions on earth. Of Nos. 1-27 half seem to come from Perm (now the Molotov Region) or Siberia, eight from South Russia and the Caucasus, the seals, a jug and a cup from Russian Central Asia. The embroideries from Mongolia and the Ayrtaim capitals are in a different case. Apart from seals and coins a complete corpus of things with some claim to be Bactrian would contain some twelve pieces in the British Museum, mostly from the Panjab, Swat, and Badakhshan, and fifty with special claim (see Dalton, *Oxus Treasure*, 193-205), a bronze rhyton with a centaur from near Gilgit (M. A. Stein, *J.R.A.S.*, 1944, p. 14, Pl. III), and a few more in European museums: there must also be things from Taxila. There is, further, the palace at Kuh-i-Khwaja in Lake Hamun, outside Bactria, but perhaps influenced by it (see now E. Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East*, Pl. XCII-CIV). But it is very difficult to disentangle the mixtures of Greek and native style in various parts of Iran. Graeco-Bactrian and Graeco-Parthian may have been only the most important among other varieties.

The places in which the things were found cannot be all due to chance. The North Russian and Siberian dishes were carried by the well-known current that took plate from India, Iran, Syria, and Byzance to the distant north for use in religious ceremonies that secured their preservation, whereas in the countries in which they were made vast stores have been melted down. Our pieces seem the earliest carried north by this current: older are only two Achaemenian rhyta from Siberia (Sm. 17, 18), undoubtedly imports from Bactria, such as No. 15 *sqq.*, do not seem to begin until the first century B.C., and that is, I think, when the current starts. Perhaps the Aorsi were the first to facilitate the fur-trade, or before their time the Ural peoples were not civilised enough to demand silver for their sanctu-

aries. So earlier Bactrian plate, if there was any, was not saved for us.

The wanderings of phalerae are more difficult to trace. Horse gear is self-transporting, and if we have similar trappings in the Peshawar Museum from the Panjab, and in the Hermitage from S. Russia, we cannot say from what point they started. Known historical movements mostly went east to west and north to south, and it seems to me rash to connect these things either with Sacae or with Graeco-Bactrians.

Turning over the plates, one feels that Nos. 1 and 2 (Sm. cxx. f. 47), the famous elephant phalerae, might have come from any Hellenistic State: they all used elephants and had Indians to manage them, and a tin hat with a brim is not peculiar to Bactria. Nos. 3, 4 (Sm. cxxiv. f. 56), on which an eagle-griffin is drawn out into a complete circle, is surely a civilised and spoilt Scythic curled beast from the north. Nos. 6-10, phalerae from Starobelsk (Khar'kov), recalling others from Galiche in Bulgaria, Akhtanizovka near Taman' and Yanchokrak near Taganrog, are decorations made for the Sarmatian market, but where, I should be sorry to say (all *ap.* Rostovtsev and Spitsyn as above).

The lovely bowl, No. 14 (Smirnov 20), does not seem to me to come from so far east as Bactria, its nearest analogue, in the Metropolitan Museum. N.Y., comes from Olbia, but like it is a piece from the Nihavand treasure (see *Survey of Persian Art*, Pl. 137 A. B.). I do not see much non-Greek in them, and if we knew where the Megarian bowls originated, we should be able to place these. The Aramaic inscription seems to contain numbers and the word for *mina*, and to date about the third century B.C. With its stone inlay, this bowl is in the ancestry of inlaid jewellery, and its carnations in that of 'Rhodian' plates.

Next come three bowls well discussed by Rostovtsev in *Sem. Kond.* VI, and with them the Swat bowl (*Olas T.* 201), and one once at Berlin (Sm. 283). All these have the same shape, and must be meant for the same purpose. No. 15 (Sm. 284) should be the earliest, not much after A.D. There is a touch of the Indian about the scenes on it, but I don't believe the heroine in the middle is dressed in trousers and nothing else; it is merely that the projecting surfaces are worn and a *Coa vestis* has left no trace. As to trousers, Miss Trever puts four or five people into trousers without need. Foucher has explained how like them a *sarong* or a *dhoti* can appear. Next comes No. 16 (Sm. 67), much like the Swat bowl which Dalton put at fourth or fifth century A.D., but I think they must be two centuries older. The men wear tailor-made clothes, coats with wide revers, alternating with Greek-like clothing, with an Indian *kirtimukha* in the centre roundel.

No. 17 (Sm. 68, side view in *KTR.* 421, f. 381) has a hunting scene very nearly in the Sasanian fashion, and cannot be very far from the third century A.D. For the scenes on the first two bowls I have neither the ingenuity to propose my own interpretation nor the faith to accept others'.

Another bowl, No. 18 (Sm. 69), bears three thoroughbred horses, perhaps the Nisaeen steeds or the 'superior' (*shan*) horses of Ferghana ('Ta-yuan'). It may go back to the first or second century A.D. The next, No. 19, has four women's heads in mural crowns. They are not unlike the cities on Pierpont-Morgan's cup, put by Strzygowski (*Altai-Iran*, p. 8) in the seventh century A.D.; I can't see this bowl earlier than the third or fourth century A.D., but Miss Trever puts it in the third or second century B.C. She always makes things two or three centuries earlier than seems to me likely, but in this case the discrepancy is greater.

No. 20 (Sm. 36) has to me an Indian touch, though the marginal figures upon it resemble gladiators. The goddess in the middle riding on a lion wears again something other and more than trousers. The bowl is a little like Dalton's No. 202, put by him in the fifth century A.D., while Miss Trever talks of the third century B.C. A pair of bowls, Nos. 21, 22 (Sm. 22, 23), one gold, one silver, have similar rosettes: one bears ΖΕΥΓΧΡΥΣ ΕΙΣ, the other ΖΕΥΤΑΡΧ ΠΒ. Everyone thinks ζευγ[ος] = weight, but I wonder if it is chance that we have a pair? The numbers should be 66½ and 102, but the gold dish is the heavier; perhaps a different unit was used for gold and for silver.

No. 23 (Sm. 24), in form like the Scythic cups, but with ring handles, is completely puzzling; the elements of its

decoration are Greek, yet it queerly reminds me of T'ang silver. No. 24 (Sm. 21), a golden bowl with a wide rim and a foot, has oves round the rim, but nothing to suggest a date. Nos. 26 and 27 were found near Frunze (Pishpek), and are in the Kazakhstan Museum at Alma-Ata. The jug is like Sm. 124 = Trever f. 10, from near Kirov (Vyatka), buried after A.D. 750, and Sm. 65 at Lyon decorated with Indian musicians: I can't put it before the fourth century A.D. It is a regular Sasanian form, and the cup, in spite of its classical thumb-piece, has analogues as late as T'ang.

The coins, Nos. 27-42, are given double size; they are welcome, but only one, No. 33, is new, showing (O.) Eucratides in diadem, (R.) Apollo with bow and arrow, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ in a horseshoe round him, monogram ΠΚ. To Tarn (p. 204) the Dioscuri on E.'s coins had already suggested the claim to be ΣΩΤΗΡ, and this coin supports him, but I wonder whether the word really means anything very definite. Tarn (p. 90) puts Antimachus I in the north, perhaps in Sogdiana, Miss Trever even thinks that he was a native Sogdian and his beret on No. 36 (Tarn, coin 4) a proof of his having Chinese neighbours, but Dr. Whitehead points out to me that he published a copper coin of Antimachus I (NC. 1940, Pl. VIII. 2), oblong in shape and bearing an elephant: that certainly points to India. No. 28, Diodotus I (NC. 1884, Pl. II.) is a queer barbarous copy of the Greek original.

The gems, 43-5, are very rude. I don't see much Graeco-Bactrian about them, but they do come from Samarcand. No. 46, a gold seal with a man on an elephant, is more likely.

Miss Trever has already treated the whole Noin-ula finds (*Memoirs (Izvestiya) of the Academy of the History of Material Culture*, No. 111, 1932 'Excavations in Northern Mongolia 1924-5' (English); cf. W. P. Yetts, *Burl. Mag.* Ap. 1926, p. 10, pl. III). She now returns under Nos. 48-53, to the piece she had already referred to Bactria—that showing riders between Hellenistic patterns (colour, *op. cit.* Pl. 7). To the main fragment, No. 48, with three men and four horses (she sees five), she has added a bit of a radiate head showing that they are in the presence of a deity. A new fragment, No. 49, bears a pair of legs wearing trousers or 'plus fours' with wave-pattern round them. The boots below are soft and tied, nomad fashion, round the instep. The makers must have been acquainted with breeched nomads or Iranians, and this is a strong argument for their being not Syrians, but Bactrian Greeks, for the ornament is purely Greek. I know of no Greek work as early as this which got so far east, except perhaps some glass beads and bowls.

Another piece, No. 50, Pl. 42, shows a moustached barbarian, not, I think, at all a Mongolian type. When found, it seemed the merest scrap of rag, and its restoration was a great triumph. (The process is described and the result given in colour by N. P. Tikhonov, *Comm. (Soobshcheniya) Acad. Hist. Mat. Cult.* 1936, 1, p. 17-19).

The find is very exactly dated by a Chinese lacquer saucer marked Shang Lin and bearing a date = 2 B.C. A. N. Bernstam (*Bull. (Izvestiya) Social Sci. Acad. Sc. U.S.S.R.* 1937, 947-68) points out that the Hun chief Wu-chu-liu (Prof. Haloun tells me that this may represent Hun *ačluy) Jo-ti (a title = *pius*) stayed at Shang Lin in 1 B.C., and received, among other presents, precisely the sorts of silks found in No. 6 barrow. He died in A.D. 13, and this may well be his grave. Miss Trever says that the Greek embroideries cannot be newer than c. 100 B.C., but this suggests too wide a gap between making and burying. Certainly they show that Greek craftsmanship survived Greek rule, which is against her general point of view. I may note that two more pieces of Noin-ula embroidery, but apparently Chinese, have been published by A. Salmony, together with a fresh treatment of the Greek textiles from Kerch (*The Bulletin of the Needle and Bobbin Club*, 26, No. 2, 1942. New York).

There remain the limestone carvings from Ayrтам, Nos. 54-61 (NB. No. 54 is on Pl. 46, No. 55 on Pl. 45; Pl. 48, 3 is, I think, a side view of No. 54). Nos. 54 and 55 are clearly capitals of pilasters about 80 cm. wide, as each has mutilated volutes at its ends. The other pieces seem to make up into lengths of 230 and 250 cm. (they are so shown by H. Field, *Arts Islamica*, IX, p. 145 ff., 1, 2; also M. E. Masson (*loc. cit.*), apparently crowning bits of wall,

225 cm. across. They projected from 31 to 48 cm., are all about 38 cm. high (No. 58, given as 48 cm. high, is shown by the photographs to be the usual height). Above is an overhanging member with clamp-holes in its top surface.

The short pieces have each a half-figure, and on either side of it a tall acanthus leaf, and the corner volute, with four short leaves and corner sprays below, thus forming a sort of Corinthian capital (cf. J. Barthoux, *Fouilles de Hadda*, I, p. 21, f. 4, d, e; E. Barger, *Mem. Arch. Survey India*, 64, "Excav. in Swat," Pl. VII. 4). One figure was playing a double flute, the other holds a garland; both have distinctly slanting eyes. On the long pieces similar figures alternate with leaves; on one they seem to have held garlands, on the other musical instruments, drum, lute, harp, cymbals. The instruments and jewellery are definitely Indian, and the whole recalls Gandhara work, particularly Hadda. It is a most important extension of the Gandhara area.

Miss Trever dates this work early first century B.C., and regards the strong Greek element in it as a survival of the Bactrian Greek tradition; but there is much to be said for putting Gandhara two centuries later, when the tradition was reinforced by lively connexion with the Roman Empire, as witness the Syrian glass found by Hackin at Begram, together with Indian ivories and Chinese lacquer (see B. Rowland, 'Gandhara and Late Antique Art,' *Am. J. Arch.*, XLVI, 2, 1942, pp. 223-399; Hackin in *Asia*, 1940, Oct.-Nov., pp. 525 sqq.).

To the detailed discussion of the plates is prefixed a full introduction dealing with the political history of the Greeks in Bactria and India (Tarn's book only reached her after her work was nearly finished, and, when she refers to him, it is generally to differ), the contending civilisations and religions of the countries, all as throwing light upon the art. For this purpose she figures many terracottas from Afrasiab, north of Samarcand, on which she published a monograph in English (*Bulletin (Izvestiya) of the Acad. Hist. Mat. S. S. R.*, No. 93, 1932), but I do not find them very helpful. I cannot judge of her use in interpretation of Vedic and other Indian literature.

Everywhere she seems to me to put things too early, partly owing to her unwillingness to believe that the Greeks' art influence could continue long after the fall of their kingdoms; but the Kushan coins show many survivals, including the alphabet, appearing also on paper, F. W. Thomas, *Am. Or. Soc.*, 64.1. (1944) 1-3, and there was a reinforcement of the classical element through ivory trade.

There is an admirable bibliography, and indexes, but no *résumé* by way of concession to Western readers. I have made a full analysis on the margins of my copy, and this may come in useful to other people. Since I wrote this, I have received from VOKS in Moscow a second copy and passed it on to the Society's Library.

ELLIS H. MINNS

Egypt in the Classical Geographers. By J. BALL. Pp. vi + 203; pl. 8 + 18 text figs. Cairo: Government Press, 1942. 750 *millièmes*.

This is the type of book of which we cannot have too many, being, as it is, the result of collaboration by a number of experts in the various branches of knowledge which bear on the subject. Dr. Ball was a mathematician who spent his life in travelling up and down the country for the Survey of Egypt. Hence he was specially qualified to do the work which is now before us, for, added to his scientific ability, is the fact that only one or two other men can compare with the author in intimate knowledge of the countryside of Egypt, whether the desert or the sown. It is all this specialist knowledge that has been applied to a study of the statements about the geography of Egypt made by the ancient writers. In this effort Dr. Ball has had the assistance of various classical scholars and Egyptologists, and of his colleague, Mr. G. W. Murray, who has already published much material on the same subject. It is he who saw the book through the press after the author's death.

The result is a critical analysis by an expert on their subject of the knowledge possessed by the classical writers, and this not only shows up their errors, which has often been done before, but also their accuracies. This latter service has rarely been rendered, and Dr. Ball has some-

times even been able to show how the inaccuracies arose. Every writer who has anything to say about the geography of the country has been worked through from Herodotus in the fifth century B.C. to George of Cyprus about A.D. 606.

Dr. Ball rightly considers that, while Herodotus' distances are far from accurate, being generally exaggerated, they are wonderful as a first attempt. That his effort is a first attempt ought to be borne in mind much more than it is, and allowance made for it in the judgments passed upon the statements. It is an appreciation that is only too rarely given to the Father of History. Similarly, as a scientist himself, Dr. Ball evinces a great respect for the results of his predecessor, Ptolemy, seeing the conditions under which he worked. There is also an interesting account of Strabo's views on geography.

Concerning Ptolemy, Dr. Ball says, 'When we reflect on the magnitude of the task which Ptolemy had set himself to accomplish, and the care he must have had to exercise in sifting out information that would be useful to him from a mass of vague and often conflicting reports, we can only marvel that his estimations of geographical positions came so near to the truth as they actually did.'

Out of the mass of interesting and important information the following examples give an idea of the value of the work under review. A point that comes out strongly is that the branches of the Nile in the Delta altered often, and very greatly, in the course of the period studied. Dr. Ball does much to trace their various courses by confronting the statements of the ancients with the contour map of the Delta. This method shows how greatly the Sebennytic branch had altered in the four hundred years between the times of the description of it by Herodotus and that of Strabo. For instance, the contours permit us to suppose that by Strabo's time the Saitic branch of Herodotus had ceased to function in its upper reaches. Herodotus describes it as taking off from the Sebennytic arm. But about one hundred years later Scylax does not mention this Saitic branch, but talks of another which was called the Tanitic and took off from the Pelusiatic arm. Three centuries later again Strabo adds the information that the Tanitic was called by some the Saitic branch. None of the writers was an ignoramus or a liar, but the well-known vagaries of rivers make it seem clear that soon after Herodotus' time the old Saitic branch had silted up, while the Tanitic had increased in volume, had broken through, and had flowed down the lower two-thirds of the old Saitic branch.

In its turn the Tanitic branch seems to have silted up by the second century A.D., for Ptolemy makes no mention of it as a stream, but only gives the name and position of its mouth. Again, the Pelusiatic branch, which had been so important in classical days, is not mentioned by George of Cyprus among his seven mouths of the Nile. So presumably its drying up had taken place by his time, about A.D. 606. Today they have all dried up except two.

An interesting piece of information comes to light about the history of the Rosetta and Damietta branches. They correspond with Herodotus' Bolbitine and Bucolic mouths respectively, and are the only two which are functioning today. Yet of the seven named by Herodotus these are the only two of which he says that they were not natural, but excavated. In this case the work of Man has been more enduring than that of Nature.

Ptolemy gives particulars of what he calls the 'Butic River.' It was a west-east canal connecting all the branches of the Nile. It was evidently quite a new work in his time, for a statement of Josephus makes it appear that it had not been completed by A.D. 70. In modern times doubt has been cast upon its existence, but now we find that some portion of its course can still be traced on the survey maps.

Pliny says that the mouths of the Nile were named after cities lying on their courses. But where did Scylax and the later writers get the name Phatnitic, for no city of that name is mentioned by the classical writers? However, in a footnote, Mr. G. W. Murray, the editor, states that there is the single word *Phatnis* carved on a rock in the eastern desert. It would have been done by some soldier on his way to Berenice on the Red Sea coast, or to the still more distant elephant country. It suggests that there was, indeed, a city of that name, though we have no information about it, and do not even know its site.

The map drawn according to Strabo's information and that according to Ptolemy make the Bahr Yusuf in Middle Egypt fall back again into the Nile, thus enclosing a large tract of land. In this way it formed the island upon which Nilopolis was situated. Hitherto this has always been a great difficulty, as no such island exists today; the Bahr Yusuf now running only into the Fayyum.

The reviewer would suggest that this ancient state of affairs should be taken into account when considering the question of Lake Moeris. On p. 52 Dr. Ball truly says that the low level of the Ptolemaic towns in the Fayyum makes it impossible that the flood-waters could have stood high enough to be returned to Egypt, and the reviewer would add that this is equally true of the Twelfth Dynasty town at Medinet el-Fayyum. Yet, strangely enough, on p. 20 Dr. Ball thinks that in Herodotus' time the Fayyum lake might have been high enough to maintain a to-and-fro connexion with the Nile. It should be remembered here that the Ptolemaic work in the Fayyum had nothing to do with Lake Moeris, but was merely a question of irrigating high land by a high-level canal from the Nile.

It seems to the reviewer that the work undertaken by Amenemhat III of the Twelfth Dynasty was the reclaiming of land from the lake, and no doubt the regulating of the inflow of water by such a dam as that now at el-Lahun. Herodotus would have seen the lake, the water running into it from the Bahr Yusuf, the dam regulating the flow, and also the Bahr Yusuf flowing into the Nile; then, knowing something of the irrigation problems, it would not be difficult for him to have drawn wrong conclusions. At one time or another there have been considerable water-works at the mouth of the Fayyum, for there are still the remains of an old silted-up canal continuing the line of the Bahr Yusuf in the Nile valley northwards beyond the Fayyum.

Herodotus' description of the 'Fountain of the Sun' at the oracle of Jupiter Ammon also proves to consist of inaccurate conclusions drawn from correctly observed fact. There are accumulations of salt in the oasis as he says. Also in some of the springs the water is warm, and sometimes bubbles from the escape of dissolved gas. This state of affairs has been elaborated by hearsay into the story of the spring being lukewarm at dawn, cold at noon, lukewarm again at sunset, and boiling at midnight.

Another valuable outcome of the study is that in early days the sun would actually have shone down to the bottom of the wells at Syene. But, owing to the slow change in the obliquity of the ecliptic, it had ceased to do so by about 950 B.C. Hence, in believing that it still did so, the classical authors prove to have been relying on ancient tradition and not on observed fact.

Ptolemy's map (Pl. II, facing p. 118) shows the great bend of the Nile at Qena, yet this was not mentioned by the ancient geographers, and indeed was not known with accuracy till the end of the nineteenth century. Napoleon's map-makers show it incorrectly through having made a mistake in a latitude.

In finishing, it may be mentioned that Dr. Ball accepts the view that Ptolemy's Mountains of the Moon represent the snow-capped Ruwenzori, though of course the latitude he gives is much too far south. As one who has done some work on early intercourse with Africa, the reviewer feels that the world has been unnecessarily sceptical as to the knowledge which was available to Roman inquirers. But of course for such remote places the knowledge was vague, not precise.

It will perhaps be as well to call attention here to Gauthier's important study, *Les nomes d'Égypte depuis Hérodote jusqu'à la conquête arabe*. It might easily escape the notice of classical scholars, being published, as it is, in the *Mémoires de l'institut d'Égypte*, tome XXV, Cairo, 1935.

G. A. WAINWRIGHT

Introduction to Greek Legal Science. By G. M. CALHOUN, ed. F. DE ZULCHER. Pp. viii + 86. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1944. 5s.

This little book was designed as part of a collective work, but the plan had to be abandoned owing to the death of the editor. It was then proposed to publish it separately, though with some desirable expansions. The lamented

death of Prof. Calhoun made this plan also impracticable. It was therefore decided to publish what the author had himself called a 'rough first draft.' The editor draws attention to the fact that 'certain topics receive only summary treatment, and others none at all.' This could hardly have been avoided when such a short sketch was intended to cover so wide an area. No one, in fact, will think of doubting that the decision to publish the essay was appropriate, in view of its unquestionable lucidity and charm, and also of the fact that no other book exists with a similar purpose. If I venture to discuss a few points which are not wholly acceptable as they stand, I do so because I believe that such an essay, however general and however short, should be scrutinised with regard to its fundamental and controversial issues. Since the importance of the book certainly outweighs its slender size, I hope I may be excused for using more space than in these times could otherwise be granted.

Prof. Calhoun is convinced that legal science, though in a somewhat different sense from that in which the term is usually employed, developed throughout the whole extent of Greek history, and it is his purpose to describe this development. He does not touch on the question whether the Greeks learned something from the legal codes of the East, nor can he show (although he tries to do so) that Greek legal thought before the late fourth century B.C. was ever distinct from either political or philosophical thought, or legal practice ever separated from non-judicial, chiefly emotional, elements. We are told, for instance, that Greek legal literature before Theophrastus consists almost entirely of *obiter dicta*, occurring in various literature of every type; but we are not told why this is so. Even though an investigation on these lines would have been impossible within the framework of an 'Introduction,' some hints as to the true nature of Greek legal thought might have helped the reader to see the fundamental issues, and to realise more clearly that the contribution of the Greeks to the history of jurisprudence is of a very special character.

The historical survey begins with the age of primitive monarchy, for which our only source is Homer. But there is no indication in the book that Homer is also a main source for the next period, that of aristocracy; for this period only Hesiod and the Homeric Hymns are mentioned. This involves an artificial delimitation. We read that there was 'a secular and rational tendency' in the earlier period, while political and religious influences prevailed later; but this is a distinction caused, not by constitutional developments, but by the difference in intellectual and social conditions between Ionia and the Greek mainland. As to Calhoun's explanation of the *themistes* as ordinances, 'each probably beginning with the word *themis*,' I can here only express my doubts; but I do demur to the statement that in aristocracies the *themistes* were 'now often termed *thesmoi*.' The identification of these two terms distorts, in my view, the whole story of the early development, which was a gradual movement from sacred and arbitrary decisions towards the stabilisation of law.

It is surprising to find Calhoun, time and again, speaking of learned jurists and legal training with reference even to early times. The description of Dracon as 'the most eminently learned of the aristocratic judiciary' sounds very strange. If Dracon, as a line in the extant republication of his law on homicide suggests, found his famous distinction between premeditated, unpremeditated, and justifiable homicide already in existence, he was even less of a legislator than is usually supposed. It is the traditional or customary law, which was not the law only of a judiciary, but of the ruling classes, even though fostered and guided by the jurisdiction of the archons, that grew to such a high degree of perfection during the dark centuries.

Solon, too, is supposed to have been 'well equipped in the legal learning of his time'; but Calhoun admits that 'his preoccupation with legal matters was merely part of a larger interest in political and social problems.' It is on account of this very interest that Solon did what Calhoun finds curious, namely, determined 'the basic trend of legal development in Athens,' which thus became inseparable from political and social thoughts. Calhoun's explanation of Solon's three 'most democratic' achievements (Arist. *Ath. pol.* 9) is excellent, but it just shows that juridical

interpretation does not suffice if we wish to understand the true meaning of Greek legal thought and action.

The longest chapter belongs, naturally enough, to Athenian democracy. Here Calhoun's main thesis is that Attic law was so brief and simple that knowledge of it was general among the citizens. There is undoubtedly some truth in this statement: but is it the whole, or even the essential, truth? Calhoun asserts that the Athenian *heliasts* were real judges, not jurymen, nor just a section of the assembly. It is, of course, true that the modern expression 'jurymen' is misleading; for the dicasts decided on the facts as well as on law and punishment, and there was no appeal against their verdict. But the hundreds and thousands of men who sat in the courts were nevertheless 'laymen,' ordinary citizens, and the term 'judges' is equally misleading. They were, in fact, both jurors and judges. When Calhoun tells us that between them and the members of the assembly were 'fundamental differences, in formal qualifications, in powers, and in responsibilities,' this can hardly be proved by their oath in which they promised to judge in accordance with the laws and decrees, and when there was no relevant law, to decide impartially 'to the best of my judgment.' The latter clause makes it clear how much could be left to the free decision of the court; there was no ruling when or even whether a law was to be applied, and it is due to this fact that the idea of the *ἐπικτὴς* became so influential. No special qualification whatsoever was needed for a citizen to become a *heliast*, and the power of the courts was the power of the sovereign people: many of the extant forensic speeches make it quite clear that they were addressed to the people of Athens, represented by the dicasts. I agree with Calhoun's third point. The members of the courts had special responsibilities—very much, in fact, as the Council or any official had responsibilities: all of them, however, were equally elected by lot from the general body of ordinary citizens. The *heliasts* knew something of the law, just as the councillors knew something of government, and the officials something of administration. But none of them was ever trained as an expert, though they had all been prepared to some extent by their attendance at the assembly, and were continuously being trained by exercising all their civic duties, one of which was sitting in court. The overwhelming importance of rhetoric for the forensic speaker, and the various methods of appeal to the personal responsibility of the jurymen, even though these factors may largely be due to the Mediterranean temperament, prove that the decisions of the courts were dictated at least as much by common sense and emotions as by legal knowledge. If the reading of the laws in court was almost unnecessary, as Calhoun maintains (though I am rather doubtful about this), it was hardly because the *heliasts* knew the law so well; the man who knew Solon's laws by heart (Cratinus 122) was surely an exception. And if the cases in Isaeus' speeches were 'beyond the comprehension of the average layman,' as they certainly were, this also is no argument in favour of Calhoun's thesis. He admits himself that public opinion showed an actual dislike of knowledge of the law. This knowledge, in fact, did not go far among the dicasts; but as far as it went, it was encouraged by the simplicity of the law—as far as this went.

Calhoun's treatment is dominated by the idea that definite legal forces were working in all legal activities at Athens. This leads him to what I believe is an overstatement of the importance of the *διαίτηται*. While he does not even mention the private arbitrators who were elected by a compromise of the two parties, he introduces the subject of the public arbitrators by the astonishing phrase: 'From the dicastic courts the Athenian graduated after thirty years of service into the last and highest class in this practical school of law.' Even if taken merely as a misplaced metaphor, the sentence is misleading. The *sexagenarians* were automatically *διαίτηται* in the same sense as men between eighteen and fifty-nine were automatically liable for military service. The *διαίτηται* were not a board of officials or judges; they were a general body, an age-group from the whole people, liable to be appointed by lot as arbitrators for special cases. That they were a section of the people, much like the Council, is confirmed by the fact that they produced honorary decrees beginning with

the formula: *ἔδοξε τοῖς διαίτηταις*. We can see in this institution an attempt to incorporate into the legal procedure the method of arbitration, which was both natural and traditional, and was in fact used quite frequently by private agreement. The chief purpose was to relieve the large courts, but any party dissatisfied with the arbitration could appeal to the courts. It was a sensible procedure, and for several decades during the fourth century seems to have been fairly successful, though even that is a disputed point. But the *διαίτηται* were not a kind of superior judges, and if they naturally had more experience than younger men, they were not selected for being more learned in the law than other citizens.

The new features of the Hellenistic age are well displayed, although Calhoun shares the view, erroneous in my belief, that the deification of the kings, and later of the emperors, was a legal fiction by which the impact of the will of the monarch on city-law was made lighter. Ruler-worship was a religious and political phenomenon. It is a fact that no Hellenistic ruler, in impressing his will on a nominally autonomous city, did this in his divine quality.

Calhoun concludes his essay with a survey, short but interesting, of legal literature. Perhaps the most important fact is mentioned on the last page—that the Greeks discovered and worked out the doctrine of natural law.

VICTOR EHRENBERG

The Political Meeting-Places of the Greeks. By W. A. McDONALD. Pp. xix + 308. pl. 19 + 31 text figs. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. London: Humphrey Milford, 1943. 30s.

As the author says in his preface, 'There is still an obvious need to collect the scattered publications of the excavated remains of public buildings other than temples, to divide them into types according to their uses and general plan, and to combine this with the further information available from ancient literature and inscriptions.' The main object of this book is to supply this need for the *ekklesiasterion* and *bouleuterion*. The archaeological material is sparse. Some of the buildings have not been fully investigated: interior arrangements are often obscure, and chronology vague. Few identifications are beyond all doubt—they are often based upon the form of the buildings, which makes it very easy to argue in circles. Dr. McDonald faces up to all these difficulties, spares no pains to extract useful evidence, and draws his conclusions with caution.

A historical introduction is followed by brief chapters on Minoan Crete, where some of the 'theatral areas' were probably used for political deliberations, and on Homeric Greece. Ch. IV deals with general assembly places, and Ch. VI council chambers: the shorter intervening Ch. V with federal leagues and their meeting-places. In IV and VI the evidence is divided into A. literary and epigraphical, B. extant remains. Under each heading the material is given mainly in alphabetical order. The arrangement, though convenient in some ways, has some awkward results too, and is not fully maintained. The division of meeting-places according to the kind of body which met there sometimes seems to clash with the author's main purpose of studying architectural types. The *ekklesiasterion* of Priene is given in Ch. IV; architecturally it would be more at home in Ch. VI: whereas the Thersilion, which according to the scheme should appear in V, is reserved for VI. The segregation of literary and archaeological evidence sometimes leads to scrappiness. However, other methods would no doubt have involved other difficulties: and Ch. VII (*Comparisons and Conclusions*), reduces the material to logical order.

Ch. IV. In classical times the agora itself was no longer suitable for the general assembly. Dr. McDonald thinks that the theatre was used in many cities, and few had a special place like the Pnyx at Athens. He examines the use of the Pnyx, the theatre at Athens and the theatre at Peiraeus as meeting-places in successive periods. We are told that Thompson now assigns Period III of the Pnyx, with the extant bema and great retaining wall, to the time of Lycurgus.

Ch. V contains little of architectural interest, and is mainly concerned with discussing at what town or in what shrine the leagues had their headquarters.

In Ch. VI at the end of the literary evidence a special section deals with the *bouleuterion* as a repository for archives. Dr. McDonald offers a reasonable solution of the problems connected with the use of the *bouleuterion* and *Metron* as record offices at Athens. (Why is *πρόθε* translated 'near' on pp. 157 and 160?) The catalogue of remains of possible council chambers forms a substantial part of the whole book: each is dealt with under the headings 'situation,' 'description,' 'identification' and 'date.' Dr. McDonald vigorously defends the Americans' identification of the *bouleuterion* at Athens against Picard. A highly ingenious but conjectural reconstruction of the *bouleuterion* at Olynthus by Prof. D. M. Robinson is given, on the lines of the Milesian.

Ch. VII sums up (primarily on Ch. VI, but some other material is worked in) under the following headings:—

A. *Situation*. The *bouleuterion* was almost always in or near the agora, but never in the middle of the open space.

B. *Size*. The *bouleuterion* was not necessarily in proportion to the size of the city—contrast Athens and Sicyon. About 26 × 20 m. was remarkably common for a moderate-sized city.

C. *Types of plan*. There are a number of long, narrow buildings, stoas (two with projecting wings) or long halls. These are comparatively early; the type tended to be abandoned as the theatre-form was adapted to roofed buildings. Dr. McDonald gives a reconstruction of the *Phokikon* with a single row of columns and seats at right angles to the main axis (one wonders why detailed treatment of this building is not given in its place in Ch. V). The squarish or broad, rectangular halls are classified according to the arrangement of their interior supports. The □ and :: forms are most important. In the former class the Old *Bouleuterion* at Athens is the oldest example; the Thersilion is an enlarged and elaborate version. Dr. McDonald does not believe, with Leroux, that this scheme had an Egyptian origin. Athens (New) and Miletus are the best examples of the :: form. Roofing is discussed incidentally on p. 268 and elsewhere, but it is not dealt with fully. The seating is often a matter of conjecture, especially in the older buildings, where it was no doubt usually of wood; a rectilinear scheme, following the line of the columns in the □ type, was probably more usual than curvilinear, at any rate until late. There are several buildings of exceptional plan—the *bouleuterion* of Thasos, for instance, which had interior supports forming a full peristyle.

D. *Details of decoration and interior arrangement*.

E. *Financing of construction and repairs*.

F. *Secondary uses*. In some *bouleuteria* a stage was added at a late date—the only addition necessary to make the building usable as an odeum.

G. *Cults connected with meeting-places*.

H. briefly reconsiders the probability of the identifications, and in the table which follows five degrees ranging from certainty (only four fall in this category) to improbability are indicated. A brief general chronological survey would have been helpful, though the table, which is in chronological order, partly meets the need. In the dimensions which he gives in this table, and on which his classification ('broad,' 'square,' 'narrow') is based, the author seems to me not quite consistent. The dimensions are usually those of the council chamber proper, as one would expect (often of course this is the whole building). But in several cases—Athens (Old), Delos (*bouleuterion*), Calauria, Troy—they include a vestibule or other subsidiary rooms. Only in one case, however, is the classification affected—the Old *Bouleuterion* at Athens.

In Appendix II Dr. McDonald with caution supports Thompson's view that *Synedrion* and *Bouleuterion* at Athens are synonymous.

The plans are given as plates at the end; the photos, which are all the author's own, and concentrate on the less familiar monuments, as figures in the text. More justice could have been done to the photos by reversing this arrangement.

One can sympathise with the difficulty of spelling and transliteration mentioned in the preface; but 'Phocicon' is queer. 'Caulenians' should be 'Caulonians'; 'Hyamopolis' should be 'Hyampolis.'

It is very much to be hoped that Dr. McDonald will find

opportunity to produce equally thorough and valuable studies of other important types of public building. The present work developed from a Ph.D. dissertation done under Professor D. M. Robinson.

R. E. W.

Aristotelian Papers, Revised and Reprinted. By LANE COOPER. Pp. xi + 237. New York: Cornell University Press. London: Humphrey Milford. 1939. 14s. 6d.

This valuable book contains the collected articles and reviews of Prof. Lane Cooper, which, with one exception, are dated between 1916 and 1938. They are now republished 'where they can give support to one another,' after some revision and omission. While the unity of time is *ex hypothesi* missing, the papers are bound together by unity of purpose. 'To the casual reader it may seem that the relation of some papers here included to the name of "Aristotelian" may be slight. If the charge is pushed, I can only say that my debt to Aristotle as a critic and a thinker is evident to me in every one of them, and that, while the mention of his name in one or two of them may look incidental, not one of them would have taken its shape, or had its spirit, if my preoccupation with this author, and especially with his *Rhetoric* and *Poetics*, had not been intense.'

In the papers primarily concerned with Aristotle, some points are dwelt upon with special emphasis. The first of these is the permanent value and Euclidean correctness of the main theory of the *Poetics*. But the treatise must be read in conjunction with the *Rhetoric*, and the author several times quotes this sentence from Bywater: 'He tells one, in fact, how to construct a good play and a good epic, just as in the *Rhetoric* he tells one how to make a good speech.' On the other hand, the view that a profound knowledge of Aristotle's general philosophy is required in order to understand what he says about the drama is dismissed as untrue. (One would like to know the exact wording of the pronouncement of Goethe referred to by Butcher. Surely it is true that the critic requires *some insight* into Aristotle's general philosophy.) Prof. Lane Cooper's range is wide, but extends into English literature rather than into Aristotelian scholarship in general. To the philosophers he points out that the *Poetics* can teach them something about Aristotle as a man; and the reviews in this volume show special interest in his life and personality. The statement of Murray that in Aristotle's day 'the only living form of drama was the New Comedy' is very rightly refuted on chronological grounds. To the classical scholars, also, there is a word of warning, conveyed in the words of Alfred Croiset: 'Of late, certain scholars, perhaps through a natural reaction against the former idolatry long accorded to the *Poetics*, have seemed to take pleasure in depreciating the work.' As Prof. Lane Cooper has said elsewhere, it has not been underrated either by the best poets or by the best scholars. Butcher's edition is arraigned as being responsible for much loose thinking about the *Poetics*, and for its disregard of the *Rhetoric*. Its faults are seen, for instance, in the chapter entitled 'the Ideal Tragic Hero,' for Aristotle says nothing in the text about any single character dominating the action of a play. (And one may perhaps add that 'ideal' is likewise a present from Butcher.)

The variety and interest of these papers, and the precision of style and treatment, make them well worth 'rescuing from the gathering oblivion of their separate publication as magazine articles.' Among the books reviewed are Ross's *Aristotle*, H. W. Smyth's *Aeschylean Tragedy*, Stocks's *Aristotelianism*, Gudeman's edition of the *Poetics*, and John Livingstone Lowes's *The Road to Xanadu*. (Lane Cooper's review is a fine cool draught after that cocktail party in Mongolia.) One puts down the book with admiration for the author's command of detail, and for the good taste which is his outstanding characteristic.

On reading such a survey of the work of two or more decades, one naturally wonders what problems of detailed interpretation remain for the future. I would point first to a task which has so far been scarcely begun—the consideration of the place of the *Poetics* in Aristotle's development. As there are so many points of contact between the *Ethics* and *Poetics*, it may well be possible to decide whether the latter presupposes the Eudemean or Nicomachean

version of the *Ethics*, or possibly one earlier than either. (1) Jaeger has proved that there is a considerable difference, amounting to contrast, between the views expressed by Aristotle at different stages on the method of *Ethics*. Is there no trace of some corresponding change in the sphere of *poïsis*? The degree of independence which Aristotle allows to poetry seems to be more consonant with his later point of view: it is significant that the State is so much left out of account, and that little is said about the rôle of poets in the general scheme of education. (2) The important notion of *προαίρεσις* is common to both versions of the *Ethics* and to the *Poetics*. The passages from the two *Ethics* have been closely compared, for other purposes, by Walzer in his book on the *Magna Moralia*. The use of the word in the *Poetics* should be closely scrutinised from the same point of view. And if the chronology of the logical works were more certain, it would be profitable to raise similar questions about the relation between the *Analytics* and the *Poetics*.

The use of the term *μύθος* in Plato has been much discussed, not without result, during the years when these studies by Prof. Lane Cooper were written. Here also there is still much scope for research with a chronological purpose. In Plato the term is sometimes, but not always, linked up with the belief in separate Ideas. What can be said in this connexion of its use in Aristotle?

Again, it seems unlikely that Arabic learning has yet made its last contribution to the study of the *Poetics*. In the past, this matter has been viewed too much in the light of mere textual criticism. It is a fact that new discoveries of importance to the history of Greek philosophy and medicine are still constantly being made from Arabic sources. The second volume of the *Plato Arabus*, which has begun to appear under the editorship of Walzer, contains a summary by Alfarabi of a work on the Platonic Dialogues by some unknown Greek author prior to the Neo-Platonists. A similar work showing ancient opinion about the place of the *Rhetoric* and *Poetics* in Aristotle's system might be of little assistance in determining the text, but would be very welcome and interesting. Those who, before the war, worked on mediaeval Latin versions of Aristotle, were always conscious of breaking new ground. It is not absurd to hope that new evidence bearing on the interpretation, if not the text, of the *Poetics* may still emerge from the sadly reduced libraries of the Continent.

D. J. ALLAN

The Psychology of Aristotle (*Columbia Studies in Philosophy*, 1). By C. SHUTE. Pp. 148. New York: Columbia University Press. London: Humphrey Milford, 1941. 13s. 6d.

In expounding the psychology of Aristotle, you may catalogue the various psychical powers which he attributes to the mature human being; or you may follow the life-history of an individual from the time of conception, showing how the various powers are acquired in order: this method will equally well show the scope and interrelation of those powers, and it has the merit of being Aristotle's own. Mr. Shute's essay is an exposition of this type. Four-fifths of it are simply a description, with plentiful and accurate reference to the text of Aristotle, of 'what goes on in the life history of an individual.' There is no criticism of Aristotle, nor argument on problems of interpretation.

The key-note of the essay is perhaps the word 'environment.' Mr. Shute describes his main purpose as follows: 'the theme of the importance of the organism's environment, which is suggested in the opening chapters on development, swells to complete dominance of the entire field, so that behaviour is seen to be interpreted (qu. by Aristotle, or by Shute?) entirely in terms of interaction between the organism and the environing world.' I am not sure that I understand what axe the author here announces his intention of grinding, but I will criticise the plan as it appears to me. Mr. Shute is either merely saying 'Aristotle recognised the importance of environment' (which seems to invite the reply, 'I hope he did'), or he is saddling him with a definite theory that all 'behaviour' is determined by environment—a theory which is foreign to him, and could not have been suggested by anything in the science of the fourth century B.C. He does, indeed, seek for a single pattern of 'behaviour' which may comprehend everything, from the

crude movement of the simplest animals to the deliberate choice of human beings. But it is not clear that he regards even the movements of animals and children as *determined* by environment; and in any case one form of 'behaviour' is singled out, in the *Ethics*, for special treatment—the actions done from *προαίρεσις* by rational men. Now it cannot be maintained that the treatment he there gives is either clear or complete: but most of the criticism passed on this discussion is irrelevant, because it assumes that Aristotle was confronted by the alternative theories of determinism and free will; and that assumption is faulty. The whole question is very well examined in Loening's work, *Die Zurechnungslehre des Aristoteles*. It comes to this. According to Aristotle a man's character largely depends on what is called his *φύσις* of the Good: for, once this has been formed and fixed, nothing remains but the choice of means. The *φύσις* itself is to a large extent determined by the individual's innate capacities and his environment, if that is taken to include the *ἐκτρέφειν* he receives from his parents and teachers. But the word 'determined' here corresponds to nothing in the Greek: if we take it to mean 'formulate,' then for Aristotle it is always reason which *formulates* the end blindly pointed out by desire. (On this point, all commentators have been led astray by the German scholar Walter, who was the first to argue that the end is not only found, but *formulated* by *ἐπιθυμία* and *ὀρέξις*: which is non-sense, since the irrational faculties cannot judge.) In describing how a *φύσις* is first formed by the joint operation of these faculties, Aristotle sometimes employs such phrases as *ἐφ' ἡμῖν*, *ἀρχὴ τῶν πράξεων*, etc.: these arouse in the modern mind some expectation of a Free-Will theory, and we wonder how Aristotle is going to find room for it. The truth is that he has no conception of such a theory, or of a world in which events are absolutely determined by causal laws. In the modern dispute, neither of the two parties can take shelter behind him.

The book, then, if I understand it rightly, suffers from this fault in its main plan. Otherwise there is some good stuff, marred occasionally by verbiage. 'Function' is doubtless an indispensable word, and the idea is Greek: it would be unkind to exclude 'behaviour' and 'stimulus': but 'environmental context' can hardly be read without a shudder (what, indeed, can it mean except 'environmental environment'?), and the thought that 'sensing is instrumental to the stimulation of appetite' seems to call for a simpler and more elegant dress. This vagueness in terminology seems to me at many points to have affected the thought and substance of the essay.

D. J. ALLAN

The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World. In three volumes. By M. ROSTOVTZEFF. Pp. xxiv + 1779; Pl. 112 + 11 text figs. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941. 105s.

This book is of a standard of scholarship which can be attained in our own time only by a select few. Nevertheless the reviewer felt, and others will feel, disappointed in reading it, a qualified disappointment comparable to that of an earlier generation when Theodor Mommsen published the fifth volume of his *History of Rome*. A standard-bearer of new ideas and methods had changed over from a grand assault, which even had political repercussions, to a painstaking effort to win new foundations. Faust, the master, had left Helen of Troy to win new lands from the immeasurable sea. The soul of the earlier work, it is true, lived on in the new achievements, but only to be felt underground by sympathetic spirits. It is truly remarkable that the contemporary historian who is nearest to Mommsen in character and methods has gone the master's way again. For Prof. Rostovtzeff this similarly meant a return to the research outlook of his youth.

The new book therefore differs from the author's rousing publications issued since he became an exile, and is nearer, although superior, to the elaborate monographs which brought the young Russian scholar his first international distinction. The social and economic opinions, as stimulating as they are open to attack, which characterised the author's refugee period, his Platonist belief that civilisation can only be created and maintained by a small upper class which remains continuously endangered by barbaric mass

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movements, have been relegated to the place of a mere underground current. A cooler and juster judgment in special questions is the consequence of this shift of emphasis; but it is to be regretted that Prof. Rostovtzeff has not tried to find a new common denominator to keep his book together, and has not made use for this purpose of the certain and generally acknowledged results of modern sociology, economics and philosophy of history. Large parts of the present work could have been published as specialist books under separate titles. But nevertheless, another analogy to Mommsen's fifth volume is that this work, while perhaps not as stimulating as earlier publications, will probably be of much longer use as a balanced and very often irrefutable survey of our knowledge.

The Preface merits special notice, because in it the author outlines his reasons, a frank *non satis habeo*, for excluding certain regions (mainly Italy, Carthage, the 'Barbarians' of Europe, Asia and Africa, China, India, Parthia, Southern Arabia, Nubia, and Meroë) from full treatment. Prof. Rostovtzeff then expresses his intention of writing neither a social and economic survey nor an essay on ancient economics and sociology, but a purely historical work. But is this not a contradiction in terms? Can history be written without clear decision of an author on all those points of general philosophy of history, sociology and economics which have a bearing on his subject?

The author's apology that research published after the middle of 1938 was not fully used by him should not be taken too literally. As far as the reviewer's own publications for these years are concerned, there can be no one who has perused them more carefully. The plates contain much that was unpublished or difficult of access. It is to be regretted that the collections are not always indicated, especially where coins are shown. Occasionally posthumous coin portraits are selected without indication (pl. XVIII, 3, 8, 10); pl. VII, 10 gives what is probably the portrait of Demetrius II, the son of Demetrius I of Indo-Bactria.

Chapter I provides a political survey beginning with the wars of succession after Alexander's death down to the balance of power of the consolidated Hellenistic monarchies and their decay. I differ from the author in the emphasis he lays on the influence of Hieronymus of Cardia on our literary tradition (p. 2). He under-estimates, I believe, the statesmanship of Antigonus Gonatas (p. 11 f.) and the character of Ptolemy VI (p. 69). To offer a few factual corrections, Cassander's succeeding sons were three, Philip IV, Antipater and Alexander V, not two as the author indicates (p. 19), and there were three, not two, campaigns of Antiochus IV to Egypt (*R.E. Suppl.*, art. 'Komanos,' against p. 67). I fully agree with the appraisal of Demetrius Poliorcetes after Ipsus (pp. 16 f.), the recognition of 280 B.C. as a turning point of history (p. 23) and of Rome's inferiority complex in dealing with the East (p. 52), and the elucidation of the policy of Antiochus IV (p. 64) and the consequences of Rome's Eastern policy (pp. 70 f.). Here, however, the healing forces latent in Hellenistic society, which were neutralised by Roman interference, were stronger, in my opinion, than Prof. Rostovtzeff assumes.

Chapter II gives a short survey of Greek and Persian social and economic history before Alexander the Great, and is, it must be confessed, the weakest part of the whole book. Evidence from the times of Alexander and those after his death, especially certain passages of the Pseudo-Aristotelian Economics, the Petosiris tomb, and the kettle of Gundestrup, is widely used to illustrate an earlier and very different social and economic pattern. Furthermore, the Φιλίππειος does not copy the Zeus of Phidias (p. 76, nr. 9). Whether, too, dies of Athenian tetradrachms of a normal type were actually used in pre-Hellenistic Egypt for coin issues remains conjectural until the sequence of Athenian dies can be established (pp. 88 f., 1326, 1632). On the other hand, the author's assessment of the deterioration in Greek economic life during the Peloponnesian War and the Fourth Century (pp. 99 f.) is indeed excellent. The buying power of the Greek home markets shrank. The improvement of native craftsmanship outside Greece was detrimental to Greek export trade, until a political explosion produced a more favourable trade balance.

Chapter III, on the social and economic world of

Alexander and his immediate successors, gives a distinguished survey of the dynamic changes of this earliest Hellenistic period. It suffers, however, from the use of antiquated economic theories. Surely it cannot now be denied, in the face of the well-known definitions of the term 'inflation' by Lord Keynes and other contemporary economists, that there was inflation under Alexander the Great (p. 165), and intentionally to neglect the use of prices and other statistical data (pp. 126, 191, 236 f., 291, 337, 1469, 1488, 1494) to establish economic trends of international magnitude is to ignore an acknowledged method of present-day general economic history. Thirty years ago Prof. G. Glotz was the first to make use of this statistical approach in Hellenistic history: for he realised that the economic links between the Hellenistic countries around the Eastern Mediterranean Sea were at least as close as those between the European States of the eighteenth century, in which field of research this statistical method had long been proved invaluable. Improvements in the figures and their interpretation are a different matter, and here Prof. Rostovtzeff's opinions are noteworthy, although not always convincing.

Chapter IV forms practically a separate book on the middle period of Hellenism; Chapters V ('Roman Intervention'), VI ('Roman Protectorate and the Beginnings of Roman Domination') and VII ('Roman Domination') are shorter. Much progress is seen here, although some special problems require further discussion. Delos and Egypt were not as far apart as the author (p. 191, but not p. 334) thinks, but were both strongly influenced by the economic policy of the same Ptolemaic Empire. The Coan tax system of *Syll.*³, nr. 1000, goes back, in my opinion, to the period of Ptolemaic rule over the island, and should not be treated separately from Ptolemaic economy (p. 241). The reason for the Egyptian embassy to Rome in 273 B.C. was, in my opinion, rivalry with Carthage, against which state a new alliance may have appeared useful in Alexandria after Pyrrhus's defeat in Sicily (p. 395, 1414). Seleucid copper coins, in great quantity, are preserved among the Masson coins from Afghanistan and North-western India in the Fitzwilliam Museum, which speaks for a somewhat stronger Seleucid influence in Northern India than the author (p. 446, 1430) suggests, as do the *bullae* of Hellenistic type which have recently been found near Benares (*Journ. Numism. Soc. of India*, 1941, III, 2, 73 f.). The masterly treatment in these chapters of the different classes of the Hellenistic populations and their social clashes is especially commendable.

Chapter VIII could again have been published separately. What was new in the Hellenistic Age is here described, as far as possible, independently of its regional background. This means that the outstanding international problems of Hellenism are treated in full in this 'Summary and Epilogue.' I refer to the questions of the unity of the Hellenistic World, the social antagonism of the Greeks and natives in the East, and the class struggle among the Greeks of the mother country, with their influence on civilisation, economic problems of population and capital, sources of wealth and their exploitation, and on industry, trade, and banking. It is impossible here to discuss details, but again it is regrettable that the author has not tried to establish something like a systematic pattern of Hellenistic social and economic life from the more certain of his facts, which he marshals so well in their immediate historical connexions.

I am, in spite of certain misgivings, well satisfied to have this book exactly as the author thought fit to publish it. It is no mean achievement. But may I be allowed to conclude with a prayer to the author, whose work and personality, I must confess, have in no little measure inspired my own development, that his *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*—a new edition is announced on the dust-cover—will not be assimilated to the new model.

F. M. HEICHELHEIM

An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination. By J. DAY. Pp. xii + 300. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942. 23s. 6d.

A pupil of the master Rostovtzeff publishes here his first book, and the way in which this monograph surveys the

economic history of Athens from the death of Alexander the Great to the fifth century A.D. does honour to both teacher and pupil. Athens had been the greatest port of the Mediterranean Sea during the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. A new inscription (B. H. Hill-B. D. Merritt, *Hesperia*, 1944, XIII, 1 f.), the economic importance of which has not been fully realised by its distinguished editors, proves even that ships' papers were legally prescribed for the transport of the *phoros* of the allies in Periclean Athens. After Alexander the city settles down to reap financial benefits from its great past, and to make a living out of its religious festivals, its institutes of education and learning, its export of antiquities and copies of art, and its attraction to sight-seers. A regional economic revival during the second century B.C., and the revival of the Greek East under Nero and from Hadrian onwards which prepared the way for the survival of Eastern Roman civilisation, had only temporary effect. Earlier reviews have rightly pointed to occasional shortcomings of the young author in his treatment of epigraphic, numismatic and statistical questions, and in his interpretation of financial operations. But such lapses do not detract from the usefulness of his book. We can safely expect that it will be widely used and that future editions will follow which will enable the author to make amends where necessary.

F. M. HEICHELHEIM

The Five Attic Tribes after Kleisthenes. By W. K. PRITCHETT. Pp. 39. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1943.

The distinguished author of this little treatise has, with admirable restraint, written a purely epigraphical study, deliberately omitting any inquiry into the historical background, or the meaning and consequences, of the creation of the five post-Kleisthenean tribes. His purpose was to list as fully as possible the demes which are known to have been assigned to the new tribes, and eventually transferred from the earlier to the later ones. The importance of such an investigation is obvious, but is better appraised when one remembers that the assignment of the demes to the tribes supplies many a landmark in the chronology of Hellenistic Athens (on which Dr. Pritchett is an authority), the reconstruction of the tribal cycles being considerably facilitated by the discoveries of the American scholar.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the indebtedness under which Dr. Pritchett has placed students of Hellenistic history by giving one or two examples of the results which he has arrived at, or which his dissertation enables us to reach.¹ For instance, by disproving Kirchner's assignment of the deme of Ankyle B to Demetrios (II), and returning it to its original tribe Aigeis (IV), Dr. Pritchett is able to date the archonship of Archelaos, in complete agreement with the requirements of the *lex Ferguson*, to 222.1 B.C. (pp. 8, 10-11). Such a dating admirably suits all the historical data otherwise available, and the evidence suggesting one of the first years after Athens' recovery of the Piraeus (229 B.C.) and her liberation from Macedon (*cf. Ét. class.*, 1940, pp. 147-9; Dinsmoor, *List* 1939, pp. 161-2; Pritchett-Merritt, *Chron. Hell. Ath.* 1940, p. 101).

In another section of his treatise, Dr. Pritchett elaborately and convincingly argues for dating to 224/3 B.C. the creation of Ptolemais, the new tribe 'functioning . . . at the end of the year' (p. 23). The suggested date supports, and is in its turn confirmed by, a passage of Plutarch (*Arat.*, 41, 3; *cf. Fine, AJPh* 1940, LXI, p. 134). Hitherto Aratus's statement—for it is on the *Memoirs* that Plutarch obviously drew; *cf. Porter's commentary*, 1937, p. 78, *ad loc.*—that Eurycleides and Micion prevented their fellow-citizens from coming to his aid, has been dismissed lightly as a biased exaggeration, irrelevant to the chronology of the account. Nevertheless, if we admit that Ptolemais was functioning at the end of 224/3, its creation must have been decided upon by the people of Athens some time in the course of the year 225/4. Now, it appears from Plutarch's account that it was precisely at that time—i.e., during

winter 225/4 B.C.—that Aratus, then στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ of the Achaean League, appealed for help from Athens. It is therefore only reasonable to surmise that, in order to stress emphatically their refusal to support the cause of the League, and to proclaim both their policy of subservience to the King of Egypt and their benevolent neutrality towards his Spartan *protégé*, the Athenian leaders advocated the creation of the new tribe—and they carried the day. It was meant to secure Ptolemy's help against any possible counter-offensive on the part of Antigonos Doson (though the Athenians had already entered into negotiations with him in the summer of 226 B.C.: *cf. Fine, AJPh* 1940, pp. 143-4, and the bibliography quoted *Athen.* 1937, p. 318, n. 3), and represented an indirect counterpart to the divine honours once bestowed upon the ancestors of the new supporter of Aratus.

Admittedly, this is nothing but a conjecture. None the less I cannot help feeling that it gives a new flavour to the passage of Plutarch referred to above, and that the latter's value is thereby enhanced. Such an assumption suffices at any rate to show the relevance of Dr. Pritchett's masterly dissertation to any historical study of Hellenistic Athens.

P. TREVES

The Greek Political Experience. Studies in Honour of William Kelly Prentice. VARIOUS CONTRIBUTORS. Pp. x + 252: pl. 1 + 3 maps. Princeton: University Press. London: Humphrey Milford, 1941. 18s. 6d.

The present book was conceived as a *Festschrift* whose chapters should be 'planned about a central theme'—viz., the history of the political theory and practice of Greece as a pattern for our time, in order to further the cause of political education and to promote the revival of Classical Humanism. The essays of which the volume consists were obviously written under the impact of pre-war ideologies, but with a view to resisting them, and testify to a genuine and courageous belief in the principles of freedom and democracy—in the essence of which one of the authors contends that even Plato and Aristotle 'fundamentally believed' (p. 193). None the less, totalitarianism, with its ugly apparatus of racialism, blood-theory, etc., looms largely upon the writers' horizon, and has unfortunately left its marks upon their essays. Mr. Pratt rightly maintains, for instance, that 'neither environmental determinism nor racial determinism nor even a combination of the two provides a wholly adequate explanation of the Greek experience' (p. 9), but the force of his argument is considerably weakened by his admission a few lines after that 'the factors of race and environment are very important' (pp. 9-10), and that historical writing can benefit from a knowledge of them, as though determinism—whatever its blend—were not the most dangerous obstacle to the proper understanding of history. The same perilous submission to totalitarianism as a principle of knowledge and a method of research is evident in Mr. Reinmuth's assumption that in Greece 'blood was the necessary basis of culture and hence of citizenship' (p. 111), in Mr. Wallace's remarks on planned economy (p. 160), and in Mr. Oates's apology for Plato and Aristotle against the charge of being among the forerunners of 'statism' (pp. 193, 212-13; *cf. JHS* 1941, p. 46).

If, then, the story of ancient Greece is here often enlivened, but more frequently obscured, by party catchwords and reminiscences of recent events, two serious shortcomings mar its composition. For every subject is treated typologically and institutionally, or geographically, not within the framework of a wholesome historical narrative and as part of a continuous process; in other words, without ever stressing the interplay of the forces at stake. Hence, inevitably, several tedious overlappings. For instance, the story of Peisistratus is told twice, first in the chapter on the constitutional development of Athens (pp. 30-1) (which, incidentally, betrays an almost blind faith in the accuracy and credibility of the *Ath. Pol.* even for the early history of Attica prior to Solon's archonship), and secondly in the chapter on Tyranny (pp. 87-9), where the account, curiously inserted after the essays on Athens, the Delian League and Sparta, stops at the end of the sixth century, no reference therefore being made to later tyrants—e.g., Jason and

¹ Chapters I and II, on the 'Macedonian' tribes and Ptolemais respectively, are here reprinted from *AJPh* for 1940 and 1942; and *cf. M. N. Tod, JHS* 1942, LXII, p. 61.

Alexander of Pherai: though, so far as the Peloponnesian tyrants of the third century are concerned, some of the ground is covered by Prof. Fine's excellent chapter on the Antigonids. And, when all allowance is made for freedom of opinion, the general reader to whom this book with no Greek is chiefly dedicated will probably be puzzled as he comes across different explanations of the same events (e.g., the origin of the Spartan dual monarchy—pp. 19 and 65—or the consequences of the Roman invasion of Greece—pp. 108 and 146; and cf. J. W. Swain, *Am. Hist. Rev.* 1942, XLVII, p. 826).

The thread of continuity is thus broken—and the story of the fourth century B.C. is altogether omitted. The chapter on Sparta surveys her political and constitutional history from 'Lycurgus' until the Roman conquest, but the Peloponnesian League is dwelt upon only in the essay on the Leagues, while the story of the Peloponnesian war is recounted separately; and at an earlier stage, in the chapter on the Delian League. Similarly the rivalries between Cleomenes and Aratus or between Nabis and Philopoemen are dealt with before the reader is told what the Achaean Confederacy and the Kingdom of Macedon stood for, and why they were opposed to the social revolution.

Save for Prof. Meritt's masterly essay on fifth-century Athens—which rests not only on recent epigraphical discoveries, but also on sound historical judgment (cf. *Class. Phil.* 1943, XXXVIII, p. 239), and proves once more that epigraphy must be instrumental in writing history but cannot be a substitute for it—the reader will on the whole be more appreciative of the chapters on the Hellenistic Age. Here the authors' task was easier. The structural similarities of the states of the Successors admit of typological treatment with far more satisfactory results than does the history of classical Greece. The analogy between classical and Hellenistic peninsular Greece is, however, closer than it appears from the present book. Neither history can be properly expounded if it is measured by the yardstick of national unity and made dependent on the welding of a nation into a whole. If, as the authors of this book seem to suppose, the political experience of Greece is found wanting because no national unity was ever achieved—either from within by way of imperialism or federalism, or from without by the sheer force of the Kings of Macedon—then the reader is misled into believing that the story of Greece is nothing but the story of a failure. Were things looked at from a slightly different angle, and if a new approach were attempted, it would prove easier to bring home the lesson of Greece, and 'to provide understanding of the present' by means of a 'historical inquiry into the past' (p. 11). It is merely with a view to reaching that essential goal in a more satisfactory way, and to improving the present book for the eventual new edition which it fully deserves, that I append the following remarks on points of detail.

P. 12: Plato himself (*Menex.*, 243 e–4 b; *epist.* VII, 325 b) proves that Socrates was not sentenced 'by a debased democracy acting in a spirit of recrimination.' P. 62: It is reasonably certain that Tyrtaeus did *not* come 'from Athens.' P. 99: Demosthenes may have 'stood for the self-government and self-sufficiency of the city-state,' but he was none the less the only Greek who consciously prepared and strove for a League of Greek regional states, not merely of city-states, thereby avoiding the dangers both of particularism and foreign intervention. P. 102: The evidence for the working of the Aetolian League in 367 B.C. (cf. E. Schweigert, *Hesp.* 1939, VIII, pp. 5 ff.) might have been usefully recorded. P. 111: Isocrates never 'made a tripartite division of mankind by considering the Macedonians . . . worthy of participation and of leadership in Panhellenic action.' P. 120: Mr. Gomme (*C.R.* LVII, 1943, p. 46) has already commented on the statement that 'men . . . like Lysander and Clearchus were recognised as gods by their own cities' (and cf. De Sanctis, *Rev. Fil. N.S.*, 1940, XVIII, pp. 9–10, 13; Robinson, *AJPh* 1943, LXIV, p. 295). P. 133: The theory of Antigonos Gonatas's recovery of the Piraeus between 272 and 267 B.C. 'Professor Fine happily reverts to the *communis opinio* for the date of the archonship of Peithidemos: cf. Tarn, *C.R.* 1942, LVI, p. 85; Cormack, *JHS* 1941, p. 41; Woodward, *id.* 1942, p. 87) is nothing but a conjecture (cf.

Dinsmoor, *Ath. Arch. List*, 1939, pp. 56–8): the fact was questioned by De Sanctis, the year by Meritt and Pritchett, who proposed 281.0 (*Chron. Hell. Ath.* 1940, p. 93). P. 145: The chronology of Perseus's death (165 B.C.) was challenged by Beloch (cf. *AJPh* 1942, p. 140). P. 165: I see no evidence for holding that 'deification of the ruler . . . had been employed as a political device to legalise absolutism even before the time of Alexander.' Deification of heroes and supermen like Heracles had nothing to do with politics. Pp. 173 ff.: Mr. Magie's very full discussion of the political status of the cities of Asia Minor rests on the assumption, which no one denies, that they were 'free and independent,' but evades the real issue at stake, formally and legally the only essential point, though of no great historical relevance—namely, whether they were *sovereign states*. (On the sharp discrimination 'between the legal status . . . and the situation *de facto*,' see Rostovtzeff, *Hell. Age*, III, pp. 1343, n. 15, and 1347, n. 25, in my opinion not refuted by Tarn, *JRS* 1941, XXXI, p. 167.) Now, in spite of the author's arguments and his effort to identify independence and sovereignty, I feel the evidence he produces and the 'striking analogy' of the Communes of the Middle Ages—the Italian Communes, at any rate—(cf. Jones, *Greek City*, 1940, p. 310; L. Salvatorelli, *A Concise History of Italy*, 1940, pp. 165–6, 204 ff.) suffice to disprove the theory of the *sovereignty* of the cities within any of the Hellenistic kingdoms—with the exception, of course, of such cities as Seleucia in Pieria, for instance, since the summer of 109 B.C. (cf. E. Bickerman, *Rev. Phil.* 1939, LXV, p. 348), whose sovereignty was expressly granted and officially recognised by the monarchs themselves.

P. 190: That Aristotle 'probably left Macedon before the death of Philip' is both unlikely and not proven (cf. W. Jaeger, *Aristotle*, Italian translation, 1935, pp. 421 ff.). Pp. 192, 239: The reference to Sir Ernest Barker reads like a fortunate anticipation which eventually came true.

P. TREVES

Political Refugees in Ancient Greece. By E. BALOGH, with the collaboration of F. M. HEICHELHEIM. Pp. xvi + 134. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1943. 7s. 6d.

The subject is exceedingly topical. And the authors have dealt with it fairly and accurately. They have studiously 'taken care . . . not to interpret the evidence of ancient sources in the light of modern events' (p. xv), though here and there (e.g., pp. 63, 83–4) they have intentionally hinted at some striking modern analogies, and they have collected a notable amount of evidence, to which they have added full references to the labours of modern scholars. It is questionable, however, whether they have completely succeeded in their task, which was twofold. Their aim was to determine 'the legal aspects' (p. 103, n. 101) of the refugee problem in ancient Greece from c. 600 to c. 300 B.C., and to give a historical survey of it, covering both the reasons for the existence of a refugee problem, and the ways devised by the Greek city-states—chiefly Athens, for Sparta is hardly mentioned—to cope with it and, when possible, to solve it. But the treatise as a whole is marred by the lack of a correct definition of the word 'refugee,' though I quite agree that the term is almost incapable of precise description.

The Greek term *φυγάς*, and its English rendering, indicate a manifold juridical status, which the authors deal with simultaneously, to the detriment of legal correctness and clearness of treatment. They share in the *communis opinio* (forcibly presented in Kahrstedt's *Staatsgebiet und Staatsangehörige*, 1934, on which they often rely, and in Paoli's *Studi di diritto attico*, Florence, 1930, which they regrettably ignore) that there was a double *ἐπιμία*, or rather that 'there was a change in the legal meaning of *ἐπίμιος* between Draco and Aristotle' (p. 91, n. 22; cf. p. 60, n. 236, and p. 65), the same word meaning both outlawry and (temporary) privation of civic rights. Furthermore, they claim—rightly—that both categories of *atimoi* can, in loose language, be called refugees. But there were many more refugees who were neither outlaws nor *atimoi*, as the authors themselves do not fail to record: for instance, the victims of ostracism (the origins of which, incidentally, they are probably wrong in connecting with the legislation of

Cleisthenes, against the view of De Sanctis, Beloch and Kahrstedt; cf. *Nuova Riv. Stor.* 1935, p. 438). Besides, defaulters—chiefly with regard to payment of fines and taxes—, political offenders or opponents of the party at the wheel, all those who were brought to trial and decided to avoid serving the sentence, or who feared prosecution—all those, then, who preferred to leave their country on political or semi-political grounds, and whom Kahrstedt rightly calls 'Pseudo-φυγάδες' (*Staatsgebiet*, pp. 91 ff.), are also 'refugees.' I will say more: the same man, especially if he is a politician, can be a refugee twice or more in his lifetime for different reasons. Demosthenes, for instance, was legally an insolvent debtor, and accordingly ἄνικτος after his trial in the Harpalus case (*Athen.* 1936, pp. 235 ff.): a year later, after the defeat at Crannon and the disbandment of the Athenian democracy, he tried to evade by default the capital sentence pronounced against him and the other leaders at the request of Antipater and on the proposal of Demades (cf. De Sanctis, *Entaphia Pozzi*, Turin, 1913, pp. 7 ff.). (I purposely refer to Demosthenes, for the authors have failed to mention his case.)

These examples, I fear, suffice to prove that—strictly speaking—no single, clear juridical principle underlay the fact that, and explains the reason why, some one was a 'refugee'—unless, of course, he was banished: i.e., formally sentenced to outlawry, and thereby ceased to be a member of the community. So were the Peisistratidae, and more generally all those who were accused of striving after tyranny (tyranny being, in theory, the pure and simple negation of any form of government): those, too, who were sentenced *in absentia* for treasonable behaviour—e.g., Themistocles, and Arthmios of Zeleia (though the latter certainly did not intend, as the authors maintain on p. 20, 'to arouse people against Athens,' if he was working in connexion with the party of Themistocles). But, when once the outlawed Athenians were outcast from the community, they were no longer—*de jure*, at any rate—'political refugees.' For the latter's existence is legally justifiable and justified only in so far as they do not violate the religious principles on which a community rests. This point the authors make out only cursorily when they deal (p. 52) with the unwillingness of the city to grant right of citizenship to refugees, and of the refugees on their part to merge into the community which has provisionally granted them asylum and shelter. Yet I believe the indiscriminate identity of the religious and the political principle is an essential feature of the Greek city-state, and gives the 'problem relating to'

problem as well. This also helps to explain why several resident aliens were brought to trial, and why many then became *de facto* 'refugees' (Anaxagoras, Diagoras, etc.), not on account of what the authors term 'non-political offences' (p. 29), but on grounds of 'impiety'—i.e., as public enemies and plotters for the overthrow of the city. I deem it significant that in this connexion the authors should not mention the trial of Socrates, nor quote the revealing passage of Plat., *Apol.*, 37 c (cf. Kahrstedt, *op. cit.*, p. 101) (neither do they refer on p. 104, n. 85, to E. Derenne's important book *Les procès d'impiété*, Liège-Paris, 1930).

On these foundations, and on these alone, can the refugee problem rest, and only along similar lines can it, I submit, be properly investigated. Hence the measures taken both against the Alcmaeonids and the would-be tyrants (which the authors relate at great length, thereby displaying an almost blind faith in the traditional account and the traditional chronology) are, properly speaking, outside their province and the scope of their book, for they are merely measures of religious self-defence which have very little indeed to do with the refugee question as such. Hence it is not, on the other hand, surprising that 'the number of exiles during the golden age of Athens' should be 'small' (p. 19), for a sound, united and victorious community need not expel its opponents from its midst, but rather tries to convert them, as was the case with Cimón (whose recall the authors fail to record on p. 59) and possibly with Thucydides the son of Melesias—though the fifth century was also the age of the ostracism, an instrument of justice which in my opinion was far from deserving the fulsome praise showered upon it by the authors pp. 15 ff., 30. But it is only natural that the number of refugees should be bound

to increase from the beginnings of the fourth century onwards, once the split inside the Athenian community became unbridgeable, despite the amnesty of 403 and the loyalty of the repatriated democrats (in this connexion one misses a reference to Conon and his followers).

This is enough to discard the authors' paradoxical contention (pp. 68 ff., 81–2) that only Alexander the Great in 324 might have been or Flamininus was eventually able 'to put an end to the evil practice in Hellas of outlawing the political enemy' (p. 81). Alexander's and Flamininus's measures failed both in theory and in practice, for not only did the cities refuse to submit to the will of the Macedonian king and to acquiesce in the obliteration of the essential principles of their corporate existence, but the new rulers did in fact enhance the number of refugees, deportees and people sold on the slave-markets. Of course, while the number of exiles increased, the sufferings of exile decreased, as the authors quite correctly assume (p. 40): but a literature *de vilis* could arise, and harp on the theme that *carere patria* is not intolerable, only when people came to realise that, unlike Andocides or Socrates, they could *carere patria*. Such a distinction between *polis* and *patria* the Greeks, roughly speaking, did not arrive at before the age of Plato. Hence, for the reader of the present book, a yardstick whereby to determine the validity of the theories put forth by the authors, and the correctness of their method of approach.

P. TREVELS

Thucydides, The History of the Peloponnesian War, edited in translation. By Sir R. W. LIVINGSTONE. Pp. xxxi + 400. 1 map. Oxford: University Press (The World's Classics), 1943. 3s.

This book is the long-awaited fulfilment of an old promise. A few years ago, in the introduction to his *Portrait of Socrates* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1938, pp. vi–vii), Sir Richard Livingstone stated his belief that an important duty of classical scholars was 'to provide . . . annotated English editions of these Greek and Latin works which should be the common property of educated people,' and hinted at the forthcoming publication of his selections from Plato and Thucydides. His Platonic anthology came out in 1940 (cf. *JHS* 1941, pp. 45–6). The annotated edition of Thucydides followed in due course.

It was perhaps natural that the re-reading of Plato and Thucydides in time of war should lead one whose chief concern lay with education rather than with scholarship to emphasise—and often, indeed, to over-emphasise—the topicality of his authors: hence the many analogies suggested by the shifting trend of recent events and sometimes marred by the writer's personal prejudices. But whether the general reader to whom the present booklet is chiefly dedicated will feel stimulated and won to the cause of classical humanism by being told that Alcibiades was 'a quishing' (pp. xx; 326, n. 4), and that Andocides was 'a von Papen of antiquity' (p. 305, n. 1), seems doubtful. More probably he would welcome sober and accurate information (which he seldom derives from the present book) on the events Thucydides relates,¹ in place of the misleading suggestion that the historian's account of events and his observations on them are all true in an absolute sense.

Crawley's translation has been generally followed, though carefully revised; but 'the brilliant rendering of

¹ Whoever may have been responsible for the Melian massacre (and Prof. De Sanctis, *Storia dei Greci*, II, p. 306, has unhesitatingly indicted Nicias), it is, for instance, scarcely accurate to say (p. 273, n. 1) that 'the motion was proposed . . . by Alcibiades,' for pace J. Hatzfeld, *Alcibiade*, 1940, p. 126, n. 1, the only evidence I am able to detect (namely, Plut., *Alc.*, 16, 5) is valueless, since Plutarch drew on so unreliable a source as Andocides' or, in accordance with the *communis opinio*, 'pseudo-Andocides,' pamphlet against Alcibiades. It is equally misleading to state: unlike both Thucydides and the historians, ancient and modern, of the Peloponnesian War: that 'Fear brought it,' and that the conflict was 'undesired by any of the combatants' (pp. xviii–xix). Even Aristophanes knew better than that.

the Funeral Speech 'is due to Sir Alfred Zimmern, and 'the translation of the analysis of the revolutionary spirit (iii, 82-4) and of the Melian Dialogue' is the Editor's (p. v). Some will perhaps complain that the deletions are too drastic. Readers 'living in a revolution' are especially likely to miss the account of the *coup d'état* of 411 B.C., here omitted (like the whole of Book VIII) on the debatable ground that it is 'the least interesting part of his (Thucydides') history' (p. 388); and a reader unfamiliar with the contradictory traditions on Thucydides' life may be confused by the dogmatic statement on p. iv that 'he died in Thrace about 399 B.C., when he finds expressed elsewhere the *communis opinio* that the historian 'died within a few years of his return from exile' (p. xii).

The present editor rightly suggests that one should read the history of the Peloponnesian War chiefly 'in order to meet Thucydides' (p. xv):—Hegel said something strikingly similar, though more profound, long ago—and he detects 'one reason of the greatness' of his work in the fact 'that in writing the tragedy of Athens he was also writing the tragedy of his own life' (p. xxxi). But why did 'the tragedy of Athens' become 'the tragedy' of Thucydides' life? An editor's task should, in my view, also include an attempt at reconstructing the life-story of the author out of the life-story of his book, and should stress the disharmonies, contradictions and changes of attitude within Thucydides' mind which the critical analysis of the different layers of his work, with their divergences of judgment and emphasis, serves to discover. Unhappily, there is no trace of such an effort either in Sir Richard's introduction or in his interspersed comments (except for one solitary remark on p. 128, n. 1, *à propos* of II, 64, 3, which reminds the reader that 'this sentence'—apparently, then, not even the whole of Pericles' last speech—must have been written after the disastrous end of the war'). The general reader will therefore fail to realise how and when Thucydides gradually came to modify his views on Athenian home and foreign policy, or to understand what place the Melian Dialogue holds in the historian's intellectual and moral development.

Any reader, however, who has some acquaintance with the chronology of the composition of Thucydides' history and recognises it as virtually certain that the Dialogue was written after the catastrophe of 404 B.C., will be unable to share Sir Richard's belief that the aged historian, in the bitterness of his disappointment and at the acme of his maturity, still maintained the non-committal attitude of making 'no comments' and passing 'no moral judgements' (pp. xxviii, xxx). Such a reader will also be better able to bridge the gap which seemingly yawns between Thucydides' condemnation of Athens' imperialism in the Melian Dialogue and the posthumous praise of her greatness in Pericles' Funeral Speech. Of the two readers, the latter will probably gain a deeper insight into the mind of Thucydides, and derive from his book, whether he be able or not to read it in Greek, greater enjoyment and more profound instruction.

On reading Sir Richard's selections, one is often under the impression that he has deliberately disregarded the efforts of a whole generation of scholars to secure a fairer appraisal of Thucydides' history by attempting the reconstruction of his mental development. Moreover, he seems to have intentionally relapsed into an attitude of indiscriminate admiration for the exemplary greatness of the historian, blind acceptance of his so-called 'scientific' principles (p. 33), and boundless praise of his tenets, an attitude which was fairly widespread in the last decades of the nineteenth century, when it marred both a right comprehension of Thucydides and the possibility of following the trend of development of Greek historical writing. The constant use of often misleading or biased modern analogies (which has not even the merit of being a novelty, for it looks like the revival of one of the most perverse practices of Mommsen and his disciples) points in the same direction. This is likely to prove (*pace* Dr. Joad) a retrograde step, and prejudicial to the cause which Sir Richard has striven so hard to promote. We all feel that classical humanism is essential to the education of modern man. But we also feel, I think, that no conception of humanism is likely to command anybody's allegiance to-day (least of all the allegiance of the Greekless reader) if it fosters a humanism divorced from history. The common man will be interested

in Thucydides not because of any superficial topicality, because on reading him he meets 'quislings' and 'evacuees' (p. xx), but because he can draw upon him as a source for a better understanding of the past, and derive enjoyment from his achievement as a timeless work of art. Only in so far as he attains a measure of both historical intelligence and literary appreciation can the general reader become a convert to the cause of humanism and classical education. And only in so far as they aim at such a goal, and help to reach it, will Sir Richard Livingstone's untiring efforts prove not only meritorious, but actually effective 'in a world adrift.'

P. TREVES

Greek Interpretations. By T. B. L. WEBSTER. Pp. viii + 128; pl. 8. Manchester: University Press, 1942. 5s.

One might be tempted to praise Prof. Webster's book as a pleasant collection of brilliantly written essays on Greek poetry and literature from Homer to Virgil's ἑλληνικός γῆλος—and to dismiss it without much comment. Yet, at the present juncture and amid a heated debate on the relevance of classical humanism and the best way of approaching it, I cannot help feeling that Prof. Webster's method and purpose deserve fuller treatment, and justify a lengthy discussion. The 'method' which he propounds 'for the teaching of Greek in English' is 'detailed commentary on representative passages of Greek literature set in the peculiar background of history' (p. vi). Such a method conceals, I am afraid, the hardly escapable danger of intermingling and confusing two different problems—namely, the problem of the relevance of poetry, be it Greek or otherwise (*i.e.*, in more general terms, the problem of the timelessness of a work of art), and the narrower problem of the historical background against which a work of art arose. But a work of art, although it is a historical phenomenon, and therefore conditioned by history, can never be explained away merely as a by-product or the result and reflection of historical environment. And Prof. Webster, much as he shows himself aware of this danger of confusion, nevertheless often falls a victim to it. For instance, he seems to realise the necessity of dialectical distinction between temporality and timelessness in art when he rightly stresses 'the immediate, burning beauty' of Homer's poetry 'above all . . . historical interest' (p. 12; *cf.* p. 123); but he apparently shares in the naturalistic conception and in the materialistic view of art—*i.e.*, the theory of art as imitation, be it of nature or life, and the theory of art as reflection of a particular period and social set-up—when he mistakes 'Simonides' picture of Danae and Perseus' for the 'true' to life picture 'of any mother sailing with her baby over a stormy sea,' and when he comments on 'the picture of the young Pelops alone by the sea . . . translated into the daily life of Pindar's world' (p. 41), as though Pindar's episode were admirable only in so far as it can claim to be a historically accurate work of art of the fifth century B.C., and susceptible of any temporal comparison and connotation. Such a faulty conception is especially apparent in the last chapter on Virgil, whose art and characters—*e.g.*, Dido—Prof. Webster describes as merely conflated out of a historical setting, and whose theory of 'imitation,' though indisputably valid, and even useful within the provinces of source criticism and literary technique, no student of poetry will ever regard either as the fount of Virgil's inspiration or as the guide to the understanding of his art.

Prof. Webster himself must have often felt the constraint of his 'method,' for in several chapters he does not select a passage to comment upon which would then lead him to a survey of the historical background, but sketches a phase of history, sometimes with scanty or no reference to the art or literature of that age. The contradiction inherent in the method is made especially evident by the author's attempt to force Pindar, Simonides and Aeschylus into the framework of the description of Hiero's court, though Prof. Webster elsewhere treats tragedy as a democratic, and typically Athenian form of art (p. 46; by the way, another remarkable instance of his acceptance of the materialistic conception of art). These criticisms will, I think, suffice to show the inadequacy of any sort of German or German-like *Epochengeschichte* (*cf.* J. Vogt, *Gnomon*, XI.

1935, 300 f.), from which Prof. Webster probably borrowed the scheme of his little book, to solve the problem of how to write properly—i.e., historically—the history of an art or of a literature.

Whether, to quote Prof. Webster's own words (*C.R.* LI, 1937, p. 65), 'lack of documentation . . . is a retrograde step,' I do not venture to assess. But in a book which is also, and perhaps primarily, intended for the general reader, one should avoid indulging in boldly subjective statements which, moreover, seem to rest on very slender foundations. To date the commencement of the Peloponnesian War to 433 B.C. (p. 45) is probably a misprint. The misplaced reference to Creon's decision to spare Ismene (p. 47; cf. *Ant.* 771) may perhaps be due to excessive compression in summarising the plot of the play. But no explanation is suggested for dating Sophocles' *Antigone* to 443 (p. 46), in spite of Webster's own cautiousness in his *Introduction to Sophocles* (1936), pp. 2, n. 3, and 53; while in a book with which Prof. Webster himself is familiar and of which he has shown himself very appreciative (*C.R.* 1939, LIII, pp. 121–2), Perrotta (*Sofocle*, 1935, pp. 23–4) has in the meantime made out what seems to me a good case for 442. Nor is any justification given for the detailed chronology of the various books and separate layers of Plato's *Republic* (p. 76), although the only passage (aside from Dummmler's and Wilamowitz's unwarranted hypothesis of the juvenile *Thrasymachus*) which to my knowledge could support such an early date (Plat. *epist.* VII, 326a) was satisfactorily disposed of long ago by Prof. Werner Jaeger (*Gnomon*, 1928, IV, p. 9; cf. *Demosthenes*, p. 16 of both the American and the German edition).

On the other hand, no word of warning is uttered *à propos* of such traditional but none the less untrustworthy statements as that 'two years before the *Antigone* was produced' (i.e., on Prof. Webster's chronology, 445 B.C.) Herodotus 'was given a fantastically large sum for a reading from his history' (*contra*, cf. F. Jacoby's commentary on *Diyllos*, *FGH* 73, F. 3, and *P.-W.* Supplb. II, cols. 226–9), or that Euripides's *Alexander* 'was an ordinary play of adventure' (p. 70; *contra*, Gilbert Murray, *Mel. Glot.*, II, 1932, pp. 645–56, partly reprinted in the Italian translation of *Euripides and his Age*, 1932; cf. also, *JHS* 1941, LXI, p. ix); or that Alexander realised 'Isocrates' wish that Greece should be united under a great leader to attack Persia' (pp. 87–8); or, finally, that Berenice was the 'half-sister and wife of Ptolemy Soter' (p. 112; *contra*, F. Staehelin, *P.-W.* XII, col. 462 f.; P. Maas, *Riv. fil.*, N.S., 1927, V, p. 69; G. H. Macurdy, *Hell. Queens*, 1932, p. 104), which latter contention is contrary to the best MSS. reading of Schol. Theocr., XVII, 34, as C. Wendel has conclusively proved (*Ueberlieferung u. Entstehung d. Theokr. Schol.*, 1920; Abh. Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse, N. F., XVII, 2; p. 102).

Readers of Prof. Webster's earlier writings will naturally be interested above all the other sections of his book in his treatment of Sophocles, the Melian Dialogue, and the historical background to Plato's theory and condemnation of art, which he rightly explains as arising in part, though not exclusively, from the philosopher's dissatisfaction with 'the realism and the emotionalism of contemporary art and literature' (p. 82; cf. *C.R.* 1934, XLVIII, p. 239). I wonder, however, whether an interpretation of the *Antigone* on Hegelian lines is still justifiable to-day after Della Valle's remarks (*Saggio su la poesia dell'Antigone*, 1935, pp. 10 ff., 54 ff.) and Dr. Croce's observations (*Conversazioni critiche*, 1939, V, pp. 90–1), not only because historically such an interpretation is hardly adequate in so far as it runs counter to the democratic sensibility of an Athenian audience (cf. Dem., *de falsa leg.* 246–7; and *Riv. fil.*, 1935, p. 251), but since Prof. Webster himself is inclined to degrade Creon from the rank of representative of the State (which he accords him on p. 53; cf. *C.R.* 1938, LII, p. 177) to the rank of tyrant (which Creon is given on p. 56). And I for one should follow the Warden of Wadham in rejecting the political significance of Ion's description of Sophocles (frg. 8 Blumenthal ap. Athen., XIII, 604 d; and cf. *Introduction to Soph.*, pp. 16 f., and Mr. Charlesworth's report on the Oxford Meeting, 1943, pp. 11–12. See now C. M. Bowra, *Soph. Tragedy*, 1944, p. 358.).

Neither can Prof. Webster's study of the Melian Dialogue prove entirely satisfactory, for he dismisses as irrelevant

the primary and all-important question of the date of its composition, viz. the question of whether and with which party Thucydides meant to take sides, and whether 'the Melians' ethics . . . as old-fashioned as their religion' (p. 68) do not perhaps coincide with the historian's own standpoint when after the fall of Athens (cf. De Sanctis, *Rend. Lincei*, 1930, pp. 300 ff.; *Storia d. Greci*, 1939, II, pp. 420 ff., 433 f.; and G. Méautis's Neuchâtel lecture, *Thuc. et l'impérialisme athénien*, 1939), he resolved to set forth the reasons for the ultimate disaster of his country.

But there is something else I feel I must say. This book matters to me less because of its method or content than because it bears witness to the present crisis of classical humanism, and to its author's willingness to overcome it. Prof. Webster seems himself convinced that what one needs to this end is neither toying with party strife nor using misleading political catchwords (cf. Ed. F. D'Arms, *C.Ph.* 1943, XXXVIII, pp. 269–71; 'Examiner,' *Greece and Rome*, 1943, XII, pp. 57 ff.), but more research, more intellectual courage, and a more profound understanding of history—namely, what Nietzsche called 'eine philosophische Weltanschauung.' The memorable conclusion of Nietzsche's inaugural lecture at Basel University in May 1869 might well supply a motto not perhaps for this book, yet, no doubt, to define the goal at which Prof. Webster is aiming and which he has now made a further step to reach.

P. TREVES

Aeschylus: New Texts and Old Problems. By E. FRAENKEL. Pp. 24. London: Humphrey Milford, 1943. 2s.

The Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Aeschylus. By A. TURYN. Pp. 141. New York: Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America, 1943. \$3.

The Style of Sophocles. By F. R. EARP. Pp. 177. Cambridge University Press, 1944. 10s. 6d.

Sophoclean Tragedy. By C. M. BOWRA. Pp. vi + 384. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1944. 20s.

These four books pair and cross-pair with each other: two on Aeschylus, two on Sophocles; two by natives, two by exiles: two austere and detailed, two general and alluring. All are good and will be part of every scholar's library. Prof. Fraenkel in his British Academy lecture first describes some of the more recent papyrus discoveries, including particularly the satyr plays, and concludes with some interpretations of the *Agamemnon* where he shows a masterly skill in breaking down long-established wrong traditions. Prof. Turyn's book, which is published by the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America, examines the interrelation of all surviving Aeschylean manuscripts and their dependence on either the genuine 'old' tradition or the Byzantine recension: he concludes that the family of MSS. which derive from the Byzantine recension must disappear from the critical apparatuses of future editions, and pleads in particular for a critical edition of 'old' scholia on Aeschylus' tragedies. Prof. Earp's study of the style of Sophocles is the result of years of patient and detailed work: it analyses both Sophoclean vocabulary and Sophoclean figures of speech, including not only antithesis and metaphor, but also amplification by formal epithet and the like: in fine it is an interpretation of Sophocles' own analysis of his stylistic development, and concludes with an interesting analogy by a similar analysis of the early and late styles of Shakespeare. Dr. Bowra in his latest book interprets the plays of Sophocles in turn, and his chief emphasis is on the characters of the chief personages, their relationship to other characters and to the gods, and the meaning that Sophocles meant to convey by his play: he is a sound interpreter, and his book will become the standard English book on Sophocles.

T. B. L. W.

Myth and Society in Attic Drama. By A. M. G. LITTLE. Pp. vii + 95; 13 text figs. New York: Columbia University Press. London: Humphrey Milford, 1940. 10s.

This book is a short exposition of the development of Attic drama in its sociological aspect. It shows tragedy

and comedy, in form and content, and in scenic representation, as the changing expression of social evolution and social conflicts in the transition from tribal organisation to full political consciousness and then from city-state to university town. Between *Oresteia* and *Orestes*, between *Ion* and *Perikleomene*, society had undergone revolutionary changes, and the external similarity of subject only serves to emphasise the real difference of problem and expression.

The peculiar relation of the Dionysiac theatre to the city-state makes an awareness of sociological conditions necessary for the understanding of Attic drama, and the author only claims this as complementary to the literary and subjective approach. It is perhaps inherent in this manner of treatment that the chronological lines tend to be over-simplified—who would have guessed on this evidence that the *Alkestis* appeared thirty-four years before the *Bacchae*?—and it is in general more at home in tracing the development from Aeschylean to Euripidean drama than in placing Sophocles. Moreover, though Mr. Little says justly that the reflection of social conflicts in the drama is only indirect, he hardly indicates the vast difference in kind between such reflection in, say, the *Oresteia* and the *O.T.*, or in the political and social comedy of Aristophanes and Menander's comedy of manners. But the book as a whole avoids distorting emphasis and contains many discriminating and suggestive points of interpretation.

A. M. DALE

Greece: a Panorama. By D. CACLAMANOS, with a foreword by SIR ERNEST BARKER. Pp. xi + 159. London: Macdonald & Co., 1944. 5s.

The author himself has given the best description of this book by calling it 'a book of impressions' (p. ix) and 'the Testament of a Greek' (p. xi). It displays a delightful blend of recollections, impressions of the Greek landscape, excursions into modern Greek literature and poetry, history, politics and high journalism. Dr. Caclamanos is here at his best. Readers of his previous writings will rejoice in the present gift of a further instalment of his yet unwritten autobiography, which he is publishing at random by way of reminiscences of his distinguished career as a diplomatist and as a journalist (it was as editor of the Athenian paper *Asy* that Dr. Caclamanos, as he recalls here, first met Veniselos and immediately fell under the spell of his forceful and fascinating personality). That he should still adhere to the main principles of Veniselos's theory and practice of policy; that—though bitterly hostile to Bulgaria (pp. 141–2)—he should still approve and promote the idea of a Balkan federal union, based on close collaboration with the Western Powers; that he should feel proud of having brought about at the Lausanne Conference in 1923 the fruitful and, in spite of occasional disappointments, lasting *rapprochement* between his defeated country and the victorious new Turkey of Ataturk, is only natural. Indeed, such achievements as these reflect great credit upon Dr. Caclamanos's outstanding abilities as a statesman, and upon his patriotic virtues. His heart goes out to his heroic land which has had to endure so much under the strain of war and the agony of foreign occupation. Yet it is remarkable, I think, that no one should have recounted the plight of Greece with less 'jingoism,' nay with soberer restraint or in more dignified terms than this resolute opponent of the late General Metaxas—to whose final achievements, when the patriot in him overcame and discarded the previous policy of the narrow-minded dictator, Dr. Caclamanos pays a noble and generous tribute (pp. 101–2).

As Sir Ernest Barker rightly remarks in his brilliant foreword, 'the reader will find some specially felicitous touches' in the author's recollections of his native town, the first capital of the independent Greek Kingdom, Nauplia. The episodes (pp. 39 ff., 45–6) of his share, at the age of six, in the defence of the city walls against the menace of an alleged Turkish attack, and of his pilgrimage as a schoolboy to the newly discovered royal tombs at Mycenae, rank, indeed, among the highlights of the booklet.

Obviously no one will have recourse to Dr. Caclamanos's little volume primarily as a source of information upon the history of ancient or of Byzantine and modern Greece, but each of his readers will, I am sure, thoroughly enjoy it.

He will put it aside with only one regret—namely, that it should be marred by so many misprints, mistakes and inaccuracies. It is with a view to improving on its present shape, and in order to hasten a new, revised edition of Dr. Caclamanos's 'panorama,' to the early publication of which all students of Greece will be eagerly looking forward, that I venture to offer the following suggestions, comments and corrections.

Occasional vagaries in spelling should be removed; e.g., Naupactia (p. 57) for Naupactus (which Philip II more probably captured after than prior to the battle of Chaeronea: cf. Oldfather, *P.-W.* XVI, 1990). Among the most disturbing misprints, may I list 'Anymone' instead of 'Amymon' (p. 38); 'Romania' instead of 'Romania' (p. 41); 'Flaminus' instead of 'Flamininus' (p. 62); 'Thalles' instead of 'Thralles' (p. 69); Louis XIV instead of Louis XVI (p. 84). Montesquieu is dated to the seventeenth instead of to the eighteenth century (p. 64), and the fall of Constantinople to the 24th instead of to the 29th May, 1453 (p. 77). Besides, neither was Pelopidas, who fell at Cynoscephalae, 'killed . . . in Macedonia' (p. 56), nor Philip II 'at Pella' (p. 58), nor was Aeschylus's brother Cynegeirus 'the hero of the battle' of Salamis (p. 129). D'Annunzio's 'Mycenaean' play referred to on p. 45 is called *La città morta*; and it is regrettable that the *Successors* of Alexander the Great should be termed 'the *Epigoni*' (p. 59; and cf. M. Holleaux, *JHS* 1921, XLI, pp. 188 ff.). Finally, one misses a map of Greece, and an index.

P. TREVES

English-Greek and Greek-English Dictionary. By I. KYKKOTIS. Pp. vii + 704. London: Lund Humphries & Co., Ltd., 1942. 18s.

Baudelaire, at his first meeting with (I believe) Hugo, was asked, 'Aimez-vous les dictionnaires?' and replied, 'Je les adore.' Most of us would agree, and, especially now that dictionaries, like everything else one wants, are 'in short supply,' we are grateful to M. Kykkotis for producing the volume before us. Unfortunately, gratitude can be accompanied by only limited commendation. The book is an extremely careless production, arguing that *crassa negligentia* of which Macaulay convicted the unhappy Mr. Croker. Misprints abound on every page: there is a lack of cohesion between the two parts of the book (e.g., in Part I δαλος is rightly given as the Greek for 'next'; in Part II 'next' is not included among the equivalents of δαλος); alphabetical order is violated (e.g., μερσάνι before μερικόν); and the phonetic renderings of English words in Greek show the wildest aberrations.

The most gross instance of negligence is the following: K. tells us that in order to distinguish parts of speech he has put certain letters after Greek words (e.g., (ο) denoting masculine substantive, (η) feminine ditto, (ε) adjective, and so on; but their inclusion is oddly capricious: Why, for example, no adverbial determinative after ἀνάσκελα?). After writing 256 pages it suddenly occurred to him that (ε) for epithet might be confounded with (ε) for epicene: he therefore substitutes (ο) for the latter from page 257 onwards, not even bothering to alter the previous notation on pages 1–256, and only telling us what he has done (or thinks he has done, for see κέρς (ε) on page 517) in a footnote to introductory page vi.

Carelessness alone is sufficient to make the book difficult to use. A vicious arrangement of equivalents renders it even more so. Certain English and Greek words have more than one meaning. K. prints the various equivalents in the opposite language without the smallest indication as to which means what. One example must suffice. 'Spring' σπρίγκ' πήδημα (το), άνοιξίς (η), έαρ (το), άλμα (το), σούστα (η), έλατήριο (το). So K. Now how on earth does he expect a beginner to distinguish between these? Contrast the clarity of Jannais: still far the best English-Greek dictionary, though published in 1895: 'Spring: (λεap) πήδημα, άλμα, "πήδος" (source) πηγή, βρύσις, "βρύση" (season) έαρ, άνοιξίς, "άνοιξη" (elastic body) έλατήριο, "σούστα"', and so on.

All this is not to deny that there are here the materials from which a useful dictionary could be made. But radical revision is required.

R. J.

The Link. A Review of Mediaeval and Modern Greek: No. 2. Ed. N. BACHTIN. Pp. 68. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1939. 7s. 6d.

The second number of *The Link* contains only half the number of contributions which went to form the first, and out of the total of six articles three are continuations. The fresh material consists of articles by Prof. Talbot Rice on 'The Aesthetic Basis of Byzantine Art,' by Prof. George Thomson on 'The Order of Words in Plato and St. Matthew,' and by C. G. Tarelli on 'The Poet Costa Cavafy.' Mirambel, Roussel and the editor, Bachtin, continue articles begun in the first number.

Space does not permit of detailed criticism, but one criticism is applicable to the production as a whole—that it does not sufficiently live up to its profession to be a 'Review of Mediaeval and Modern Greek.' Of the six articles, Prof. Thomson's contribution, whatever its merits, has nothing to do with mediaeval or modern Greek; and Dr. Bachtin's most excellent and stimulating study of the 'scales of colloquial idiom' with reference to the translation of English poetry into Greek has no direct concern with Greek, and would apply equally well to translation into Erse or Choctaw. Prof. Talbot Rice's slight but pleasant article bears the mark of a request performance, and is only on the fringes of relevance in a literary and philological periodical. Far the best contribution to the fascicle of those related to the subjects under discussion is that of André Mirambel, a first-rate Modern Greek scholar, whom this country is happy to have had an opportunity of entertaining since 1940. He concludes his admirable study of 'The Determinate Aspect in Modern Greek.'

Dr. Bachtin threatens to suspend publication after the next number. This would be a pity: there is room for such a periodical in this country. But it should be more *ad rem*. We have here not a single article on the mediaeval language or literature; nothing on mediaeval or modern history; nothing on nineteenth-century literature, or on twentieth-century prose-writing; and the only two modern poets dealt with, Cavafy and Palama, did their best work in the period prior to the last war.

R. J.

Θουκυδίδου Ἱστορίαι. Κατὰ Μετάφρασιν Ἐλευθερίου Βενιζέλου. Edited by D. CACLAMANOS. Pp. xix + 363. Pl. 1. Oxford: University Press, 1940. 21s.

This work must rank as a curiosity of literature. Beautifully, accurately and expensively printed by the Oxford University Press, it worthily commemorates the literary studies which occupied the leisure of a great statesman whom we all revere. But it is hard to believe that it will claim many readers in this country, for the idiom in which it is written is one with which no foreign student of Modern Greek wishes to familiarise himself unless his business makes it absolutely unavoidable; while the classical student in Greece, to whom the accurate rendering might be of some use as a crib, would in most cases be debarred from acquiring it owing to its price. We may hope that in happier days to come the work will be reprinted in the country of its origin in a rather less ambitious format.

Of all literary idioms, the Greek 'moderate purism' of newspaper leaders and official notices may fairly lay claim to be the duller and least inspired. One might have supposed it impossible to yawn one's way through a page of Thucydides in any language; but here his stimulating champagne is reduced to the flattest of small beer. This is the measure of what the '*katharevousa*' can do. If anyone wants to see what the true modern idiom can do for Ancient Greek, let him, for example, read a page of M. Dimitris Photiadis' translation of Demosthenes' *Philippics*, where all the graphic vividness of the orator is preserved.

History is, of course, not rhetoric; and M. Caclamanos, Venizelos' editor, makes a good attempt to justify his author's choice. If his attempt is not convincing, that is not his fault. Perhaps Venizelos himself, though undoubtedly a friend of the demotic, had not that true, scientific knowledge of its structure and capabilities which would have enabled him to use it freely and naturally as a literary idiom.

M. Caclamanos tells us that Venizelos left behind many notes on the text. We cannot but wish that these were

before us: how delightful to trace the influence of the Hampshire Grenadiers in this most interesting conjunction of statesman and man of letters.

For the rest, two short passages:

οἱ Συρακοῦσιοι, ἰσάμενοι ἐπὶ τῆς ἄλλης ὀχθῆς, ἡ ὁποία ἦτον ἀπόκρημνος, ἐβαλλαν ἀνωθεν κατὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων. ἐσχολουμένων τῶν περισσοτέρων εἰς τὸ νὰ πίνουν ἀπλήστως καὶ συνωθουμένων τῶν μὲν πρὸς τοὺς δὲ ἐντὸς τῆς βαθείας κοίτης τοῦ ποταμοῦ, εἰς ἀπερίγραπτον σύγχυσιν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι, κατελθόντες ἐκ τῆς ὀχθῆς ὅπου ἔστεκαν, ἐσφαζαν κυρίως τοὺς ἐντὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τοὺς ὁποίους τὸ ὕδωρ εἶχεν ἤδη μολυνθῆ. ἀλλὰ μολονότι ἐκτὸς τοῦ πηλοῦ εἶχεν ἀναμικθῆ καὶ μέ ἄιμα, ἐπινετο οὐδὲν ἥττον καὶ πολλοὶ διηγωνίζοντο ποῖος νὰ προλάβῃ νὰ πῇ πρῶτος.

So Venizelos renders *Thuc.* VII. 84. 4-5. Now for the same passage in the δημοτική (rendered by M. Photiadis):

Στὴν ἀντίπερη ἀπότομη ὀχθῇ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀραδιάστηκαν οἱ Συρακοῦσιοι καὶ χτύπαγαν ἀπὸ ψηλὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, πού οἱ περισσότεροι ἀπ' αὐτοὺς, πίνοντας ἀπλήστα νερά καταμεῖς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, στριμώχνονταν ἀναστατωμένοι. Οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι κατέβηκαν σφάζοντας κύρια ὅσους ἦταν μέσα στὸ ποτάμι το θολωμένο κιόλας νερό, ὅχι μόνο δὲν πινόταν λιγώτερο, ἀνάκατα μέ τὸν βούρκο καὶ ματωμένο, μά κι' ἀγῶνας γινόταν γι' αὐτό. This is a literary treatment of a living language. The other is a language which was never anything but literary. One may take one's choice.

R. J.

Ἀἱ ἐκκλησίαι τῶν παλαιῶν Ἀθηναίων. By K. E. MPIRES. Pp. 54. Athens, 1940.

This monograph by the architect who is director of the Athenian Municipality's town-planning contains a catalogue of 140 mediaeval churches of Athens, a list of those destroyed, with illustrations taken from previous publications, and an account of the former plans by Kleanthes, Schaubert and von Kleuze in the early years of Otho's reign, which serve as a source. K. Kotzias, Governor, and A. Pivtas, Mayor of Athens, have contributed introductions. The latter remarks that the destruction of these churches was due not to the Turks but to the enfranchised Greeks, who sacrificed them to the erection of new houses and churches or to classical excavations. A map of mediaeval Athens, marking the position of the 140 churches in the modern city completes this study, which supplements the previous *Εὔρετριον*.¹

W. M.

Τι εἶναι οἱ Κουτσόβλαχοι. By A. D. ΚΕΡΑΜΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ. Pp. 152. Athens, 1939.

This is the expansion of a lecture before the Academy, which provoked a controversy in the Roumanian Press. The author's thesis is that these 'little Vlachs' have 'neither a drop of Dacian blood, nor a trace of tribal relationship with the Daco-Roumanians.' A Macedonian, he traces them back to the *praesidia armata* formed to guard the frontier after the battle of Pydna and mentioned by Livy. These, he argues, were 'native' troops, and therefore, the Koutsovlaachs are 'Greeks who have abandoned their tongue, like the fugitives from Asia Minor,' some of whom, though Greeks, spoke Turkish. He contends that these Greek Vlachs do not understand Roumanian, but this opinion must be qualified by his admission that he knows neither language. His work is difficult reading, because a line of text often meanders through a page of footnotes in small type. These should have been confined to references to Wace and Thompson and other authorities.

W. M.

Τὸ Χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορείου. Τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν Κείμενον. By P. P. ΚΑΙΟΝΑΡΟΣ. Pp. xxxii + 400. Greece, 1940.

The editor, already known for two books on the customs of his native Manna and the Hellenism of Corsica and Magna Graecia, publishes the Greek text of the *Chronicle* from the Copenhagen manuscript with variants from that of Paris. An introduction describes the four versions in Greek, French, Italian and Spanish, and contains a biblio-

¹ *JHS* XLVIII, 97; *L*, 166; *LIV*, 234.

graphy of the published editions¹ of the *Chronicle*, notably Schmitt's of 1904 and Longnon's of 1911, and of the Byzantine, Latin and later historians dealing with the period, such as Buchon, Hopf, Zakythinos and the present reviewer. Finlay is omitted, yet Tozer's edition covers this subject. There are chronological tables of Frankish rulers and of the events mentioned in the text. A valuable feature is the 64 photographs of the Frankish sites from the editor's collection, for pictures of Frankish Greece are difficult to obtain.

W. M.

Μνημεῖα τῆς Κρητικῆς Ἱστορίας. Vol. I. **Zuanne Mocenigo Provveditore Generale del Regno** *Relazione presentata nell' eccellentissimo Consiglio nel 17 Aprile MDLXXXIX.* Ed. S. G. SPANAKES. Pp. xvi + 232. Herakleion, 1940. 300 drs.

Another contribution¹ to the history of Venetian Crete consists of this long official report on the state of the island in 1589 by Mocenigo, edited with a brief introduction and a Greek translation by the Director of the Candia Library. Mocenigo, who knew Crete well, emphasised the danger from the hatred of the peasants for the nobles, who treated them as serfs, so that some would even prefer Turkish rule, as had happened in Cyprus. He showed the strategic importance of Crete and its two 'sentinels,' the surviving Venetian islands of Kythera and Tenos, which depended administratively on it. Kythera had, however, been depopulated since 1538, and the Venier family shared its revenue with Venice; Tenos was the refuge of slaves, escaped from Constantinople. He deplored the jealousy of the Cretan nobles towards the Venetian aristocracy, the ignorance of the Greek clergy, who had to go to the Ionian Islands for ordination, and the lack of discipline among the soldiers, 'mostly bandits.' But the townsmen were excellent sailors, and the harbour of Candia should be deepened. He foresaw the Turkish invasion of the next century, and urged that the office of Provveditore Generale, which he twice held, should be maintained in peace as well as in war, for the protection of the peasantry. The Italian text, occasionally obscured by abbreviations, is carefully translated.

W. M.

Λευκάς καὶ Λευκάδιοι ἐπὶ Ἀγγλικῆς Προστασίας (1814-64). By K. MACHAIROS. Pp. 191. Corfù, 1940. 80 drs.

This monograph, forming part of the publications of the Society of Septinsular Studies,² shows the special attraction of union with the Hellenic Kingdom for Levkas, the nearest of all the Ionian islands to the mainland. For this geographical reason Levkadians, despite the thunders of 'King Tom,' participated with arms and men in the War of Independence and its predecessor, the 'Friendly Society,' and in the Epirote insurrection of 1834, when compromising letters of Valacrites were seized by the British. Hence Layard's proposal in 1861 to cede Levkas to Greece for five years, to see whether the Ionians really liked union in practice. Like most Ionians, except the κατὰχρόνιοι in Corfù, the Levkadians preferred less good administration by their own kin to better government by foreigners. 'I want the British as friends and not as masters,' wrote Valacrites, who opposed Gladstone's scheme of reforms and Young's proposal to make Corfù and Paxo a British colony, ceding the other five islands to Greece. The author, an Ionian, admits the excellence of many of the British arrangements, and a Zantiote historian told the reviewer that even Maitland was a good administrator, but did not understand the Greek psychology. The plate containing Lord Seaton's name, as the author of the more liberal constitution of 1849, still exists at Levkas, like that, erected in 1933, to commemorate Lefcadio Hearn. The bibliography includes the unpublished notes of Philippas about the Levkadian members of the 'Friendly Society.'

W. M.

Αὐτοβιογραφία Ἰωάννου Καποδίστρια. By M. LASCARIS. Pp. 126. Athens, 1940.

Prof. Lascaris¹ gives a complete Greek translation of the French memorial, *Aperçu de ma carrière publique depuis 1798 jusqu'à 1822*, presented by Capo d'Istria to Tsar Nicholas I in 1826, to support his request for leave to quit the Russian service. The manuscript, preserved in the Russian archives, was first published with a Russian translation in a Russian historical periodical in 1868. But two pages were omitted because they related to Poland, besides some remarks of Alexander I to the Polish Diet. A Greek version, published in the Νέα Ἡμέρα in 1912 likewise omitted these passages. The present editor has compared the full text with the original sketch in the possession of the Capo d'Istria family. As a Corfiote, he is naturally interested in all that his compatriot wrote about their native island. The future President of Greece described the history of the Ionian Islands after the fall of Venetian rule, and was at Santa Mavra at the head of the Ionian gendarmerie when French troops replaced the Russian in 1807. His summons to Russia was regarded by the Greeks as 'the best omen for the future of their country,' and he opposed the creation of the British Protectorate over the Seven Islands, while discouraging the methods of the 'Friendly Society' as inopportune, but helping to found the 'Philomuse Society.' He denounced the 'tyranny' of 'King Tom' Maitland and the cession of Parga, and told Bathurst that 'Maitland treats my compatriots like Indians.' Hence, in 1822, Metternich said to Maitland, after Capo d'Istria had left Russia for Geneva, 'the principle of evil has been uprooted. You will live quietly in the Seven Islands.'

W. M.

Hieronimo Giustiniani's History of Chios. Edited, with an Introduction, by P. P. ARGENTI. Pp. xxxv + 462. Cambridge: University Press, 1943. 42s.

The whereabouts of the Italian MS. of the *History of Chios* by Hieronimo Giustiniani, which was used by Carl Hopf and had since disappeared, was discovered by Dr. Argenti in the Roman State Archives. The author is said to have written his work in Greek, Latin and French, as well as in Italian, and Italian and Latin editions are said to have been printed. But the only printed version which has been traced up till now is the abbreviated French one published at Paris in 1586 (with the false date MDVI). Italian versions in MS. made from this, with more abbreviation, are known, but none in Greek or Latin. The author of *Chios Vincita* and *Chios Liberata* and other works, by which he has laid students of Chian history under deep obligation, now presents them with a complete transcript of the Italian MS. (which cannot, however, if the transcript is correct, be from the author's own hand). An introduction gives a fair estimate of the value of the work, although we are inclined to think Dr. Argenti a little hard on Giustiniani's credulity, intolerance or indifference to the great religious movements of his age, and unawareness of the discoveries which had changed the face of the world. We doubt whether he differed much from the average good Catholic gentleman of his time. As to the book itself, its contribution to the history of its island could have been compressed into a third of its length. The rest is digression; Giustiniani is perhaps without equal in discursiveness in the whole realm of literature, only excepting the author of *Tristram Shandy*. One can hardly fail to echo Sterne's words: 'Digressions, incontestably, are the sunshine;—they are the life, the soul of reading;—take them out of this book for instance,—you might as well take the book along with them.' The folklorist, who will glean odd bits about Greek customs and French analogues from its pages, will perhaps agree entirely; the historian will shrug his shoulders rather impatiently, being doubtful about the sunshine, etc. However, we must take the book as it is. Since access to the MS. is impossible, criticism of the editor's handling of the text must be largely a matter of conjecture. To be frank, we do not understand by what principles of editing he has been guided. There is an occasional footnote, or inserted

¹ JHS LIX, 184, 329.

² JHS LV, 277; LVI, 276; LIX, 187.

¹ JHS XLVI, 265; LIX, 330.

sic; and there are just three pages of addenda and corrigenda to the 436 pages of text! Constantly we are left wondering whether the strange readings we come across are due to the original scribe or to the transcriber. To give only two instances: 'è Gripo' (p. 22) should certainly be corrected to 'Egripo,' and 'O Laomanno' (p. 41) to 'Olao Magno.' We pass over minor mistakes, which can hardly disturb the reader; but in all cases we should like to know who is responsible. If a sixteenth-century text is worth printing, it should be edited with the same scrupulous care as an ancient classic.

We must conclude with a word about the index, which is the queerest performance of its kind we have ever encountered. The compiler does not seem to grasp the first principle of indexing, that a subject should be entered under the word under which one would most naturally look for it. 'Walls of Chios' (referring to the fortifications built by the Giustiniani) is under 'Geology,' though, it is true, we also find it under 'Walls.' Besides 'Ladies of Chios: modesty, gentleness, and chastity of,' we have entries under 'Chastity' and 'Modesty,' but not under 'Women.' Perhaps the most comical entries are 'Majesty, His Most Christian' (referring to the editor's statement that Vincenzo Giustiniani entered the service of the King of France), and 'Search, Editor's, for MS. of the *History*.' The space occupied by such ineptitudes would have better been filled by subjects which have been omitted.

Interglossa: a Draft of an Auxiliary for a Democratic World Order, being an attempt to apply semantic principles to language design. By L. HOGBEN. Pp. 285; pl. 12. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1943. 9d.

The growing babel of artificial languages perhaps shows at least one merit denied to the natural babel, that of an improvement on broad lines by evolution as this or that feature is progressively jettisoned as cumbrous or unnecessary, and as the aims and claims of an auxiliary language become more modest. Not that 'interlinguistic' research can ever hope to combine all the good points of various systems in one. Mr. Ogden's Basic English made the important contribution that in vocabulary the ideal is not facility in unlimited word-building, as was hitherto assumed, but a rigid restriction to a minimum of words. So, too, Mr. Hogben's Interglossa, which posits a somewhat larger number (880) of 'essential words' than Basic (850), now emphasises a truth which was being largely overlooked and which is of special interest to Hellenists. It is a paradox that this technological age, now only in its infancy, is falling back more and more on Greek for its terminology. Newer coinages like *microphone*, *megacycle* and *allergic* rapidly achieve the universal currency already won by the *telegram*, *photograph* and *elastic* of an earlier vintage. A wireless mechanic's apprentice is as much at home with *heterodyne* as Mr. Jackson Knight is when expounding the rhythms of Virgil. Furthermore, these words soon leave the laboratory for the market-place, and, as Mr. Hogben remarks, of the many persons who associate the element *micro-* with 'small', how few know that *parvus* means the same. The earlier advocates of an interlanguage looked to Latin, whether Classical, 'Church,' 'botanical' or in some reduced form such as *Latino sine flexione* or else simply as the foundation of Romance vocabulary (as does Occidental in especial).

Some words of Greek provenance were usually included, the result of an illogical compromise, such as the rather surprising *kaj* of Esperanto. But the great majority of the words of Interglossa, being based on roots which now belong to the international vocabulary of science, are of Greek origin. With, however, a fair sprinkling of Latin derivatives when these are supplied by technical usage.

If we may call these words the bricks of Interglossa, the mortar is provided by 'The Eleven Pseudonyms,' 'Fourteen General Articles,' 'Forty-One Time and Place Markers,' 'Twenty Verboids' and the like. All its words being invariable, Interglossa is purely isolating, an advantage which it shares with Peano's Interlingua and Yushmanov's Etem over Volapuk, Novial, Esperanto and the 'improved' forms of the last known as Mondial and Ido. But this necessitates a rather grim machinery of 'operators' and 'amplifiers,' which makes Interglossa pay for the simplicity of its forms by a multiplicity of words. To express an imperative, for instance, the verb (or rather the word which the context will here show to correspond to a verb in most other languages) has to be preceded by an intercalated sentence equivalent to the English 'I'm telling you.'¹ It may be only the unfamiliar brusqueness of this which makes the device seem rather ludicrous, for, after all, the postponed 'is it not?' and 'n'est-ce pas?' are interrogative operators of this type. But such methods of avoiding a functional morphology make Interglossa at times painfully verbose. For instance, as against the 68 words of the Lord's Prayer in English (and 60 in Latin, 62 in German, 69 in Spanish, 70 in French, 73 in Greek), Interglossa gives 88.

Mr. Hogben's roots carry the meaning they now hold in international usage, not that which they may have in the Greek dictionary. Some anomalies are thus avoided. Professor Gilbert Norwood once remarked that twenty times twenty years at Greek would not elucidate *philately*. *Histology* is an unfortunate name. Sometimes too rare a Greek word or too obscure a form has been adopted by science. *Helminthology* comes to mind, and a fungus called *inopus* few will work out as 'fibrous-footed.'² But these pitfalls are, on the whole, avoided in the vocabulary of Interglossa. Mr. Hogben's venture is frankly experimental, a basis for further development: but it without doubt marks a step onward in the search for an agreed medium of global intercommunication. And, as already stated, there is something here which those who wish to promote Hellenic studies would do well to consider. Stranger things have happened than Preliminary Greek for B.Sc. Techn.

L. J. D. R.

¹ In fairness it must be added that this would only be necessary in expressing a formal imperative. Normally *peti* (= 'please') converts a statement into a request. As Mr. Hogben naively remarks, 'the need for the strong imperative will be rare, except in history books. An international auxiliary of peaceful communication is not for generals or for conversation with the cat.'

² Still worse are those English words which have falsely assumed a Greek form—*pantoun*, *kalanchoe*, *theodolite* and a word which military journalists are now unhappily making familiar, viz., *logistics* (= 'the art of billeting troops', from French *loger*).

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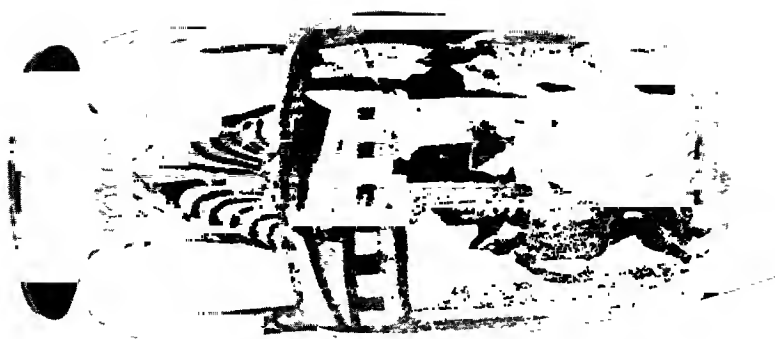
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